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ABSTRACT

This report analyzes the political structure of the Academic Senate at the University of California, Berkeley. A review of the literature on educational politics is followed by a chapter explaining the history, organization, and "actions in time of crisis" of the Academic Senate. In Chapter 3, the characteristics of a representative sample of Berkeley faculty are compared with those of Senate committee members, committee chairman, and selected members of other committees. Chapter 4 examines some of the informal aspects of relationships among faculty members serving in the Academic Senate. Chapter 5 describes the formal and informal operation of the Budget Committee, the Committee on Academic Planning, the Committee on Educational Policy, and the Committee on Courses of Instruction. Chapter 6 presents observations and conclusions on decision-making patterns of various faculty committees. It also describes recent attempts by the Senate to coordinate the activities of its committees and to maintain adequate liaison with the administration. The final chapter presents discussion and conclusions regarding the effects of various crises on the Senate, the characteristics of the faculty ruling elite, and a summary of power and authority in Senate committees. (DS)

ACADEMIC GOVERNMENT AT BERKELEY

THE ACADEMIC SENATE

By

Kenneth P. Mortimer

1970

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FOREWORD

Higher education is undergoing profound change in patterns of authority and influence. McGeorge Bundy, president of the Ford Foundation, observed recently (1968) that ". . .the distribution of authority and responsibility among the various members of a university is now in question as it has not been for generations [p. 42]."

One of the most significant changes during the last quarter of a century is the great growth of faculty power. By attaining a high degree of professional self-government, faculties now exercise effective control of the education and certification of entrants to the profession; the selection, retention, and promotion of their members; the content of the curriculum; work schedules; and the evaluation of performance. Consequently, said Bundy, "When it comes to a crunch, in a first-class university it is the faculty which decides [p. 44]."

The influence of the faculty has also increased greatly in the British universities. The faculties of Oxford and Cambridge are self-governing societies, syndicalist organizations. However, the Red Brick universities and the new universities established after the Second World War are governed by bodies composed both of laymen and academics. Nonetheless, the power of the academic members of governing boards and of academic senates in the universities has gradually increased at the expense of lay

governors. Although external forces almost certainly will gain power in the future at the expense of both lay governing boards and faculties in American and British universities, faculties, nevertheless, will continue to play a significant role in college and university government. In viewing the pattern of authority and influence in higher education, therefore, it seems appropriate to make more careful studies of faculty government and faculty participation in institutional decision making than have been available previously.

The study reported here is one of three related case studies of faculty government. It concerns the University of California at Berkeley. The other two case-study institutions are the University of Minnesota and Fresno State College. On the basis of these studies, a comparative monograph on faculty governance will be prepared.

Faculty collegiality no longer survives except, perhaps, in a very small Oxford or Cambridge College. The faculty in a large complex institution organizes itself bureaucratically to carry on its work. Except in crises, a limited number of faculty members conduct the business for their colleagues. One of the purposes of the three case studies is to discover the composition of these "ruling" groups and how they operate. Another purpose is to discover how, or whether, the membership of faculty oligarchies changes during periods of crisis.

Another objective of the studies is to explore the formal and informal relationships of academic senates and senate committees to the central administration. Questions such as the following have been explored: Are there essentially separate faculty and administrative jurisdictions, or do faculty bodies and administrators participate together throughout the decision-making process? Is the structure of governance such as to encourage confrontation rather than shared authority? What are the evidences and causes of strained relationships between faculty and administration? What methods have been used to reduce tension and to resolve controversy? Is the pattern of governance conducive to educational leadership? Does it restrict administrative initiative and influence?

The proposed comparative monograph will also deal with these questions. In addition, it will discuss tensions, and in some instances confrontations, between faculties and governing boards, as well as the constraints placed upon faculties and particular institutions by systemwide governance and administration and by statewide coordinating agencies. All these are factors determining who gains and who loses in the redistribution of power and influence over colleges and universities.

T. R. McConnell

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The project was suggested by T. R. McConnell in a speech delivered to the American Council on Education's administrative interns in September 1966. Dr. McConnell encouraged me to pursue the research and helped design and finance the study. My intellectual and personal debt to him is more than I can express.

Miss Elsie Myrne of Administrative Records and Mrs. Kirsten Russell in the Academic Vice Chancellor's office were very helpful in obtaining much of the research data. Several members of the staff at the Center for Research and Development in Higher Education helped compile, code, and program the data. David Cole and Carol Omelich helped in the early stages of data collection: Charles Gherke, Susan Perkins, Cynthia Warias, and Diana Fackenthal gave valuable guidance concerning computers and computer programs, and their help is much appreciated.

A special debt is owed Mrs. Carolyn Robinson, who helped organize, code, and collapse the data. She also searched through the libraries for Senate material, and she typed and retyped the various drafts of the manuscript.

The administrators and faculty members who submitted to rather lengthy interviews deserve a special thanks for being very generous with their time.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In describing university administration, Presthus (1965) has stated that some faculty are encouraged to do administrative work rather than to increase their knowledge. He argues that a small but significant proportion of faculty share administrative values of power and prestige which include career aspirations tied to their home base, institutional loyalty, and a propensity to compromise. These faculty rarely are productive academically. Their professional marketability is limited, and they are closely bound to their administrative masters. They specialize in acquiring political and administrative skills and in enhancing their own organizational status.

McConnell (1966) has noted that although organization of faculty governance may be structurally democratic, it tends to move toward oligarchic control by a class of professional faculty members who are also amateur administrators. He has suggested that at the University of California at Berkeley a very large part of the Academic Senate committee work is performed by faculty members of lesser scholarly distinction who make committees their primary activity and do relatively little research or scholarly writing. According to McConnell, faculty utilize bureaucratic methods in order to organize effectively, and faculty and administrative bureaucracies often coexist in an uneasy balance consisting of

overlapping jurisdictions and an absence of communication with each other.

The significance of these problems derives from the assertion by Caplow and McGee (1965) that if power cannot be tied to specific positions in the university, it will lodge pretty much where it may. When power is allowed to roam free, it is taken into whatever hands are capable of exercising it. "The product of this system," according to Caplow and McGee, "is the university 'strongman' --dean, chairman, or professor--who converts his prestige, either disciplinary or local, into authority by enlisting the support of the men around him [p. 178]."

The research reported here dealt with the statement that governance by faculty, while democratically structured, makes use of bureaucratic methods and tends toward oligarchic control by a class of professional-amateur administrators who do relatively little research or scholarly writing. The questions for study were as follows:

(1) What effects do periods of crisis have on the practice and patterns of faculty self-government, faculty participation in campus governance, and faculty-administrative relationships?

(2) Can an oligarchy or series of oligarchies be identified and defined in an academic setting? If yes, what are its (or their) characteristics? If not, why is this

the case?

(3) What are the factors, both formal and informal, which tend to sustain oligarchies or prevent them from arising?

(4) What are the power or authority relationships in faculty decision making? What are the power and authority relationships within the faculty and between faculty and the administration?

Specifically, the report will analyze the composition and operation of six important Academic Senate committees at the University of California at Berkeley: the Committee on Academic Planning, the Committee on Committees, the Committee on Budget and Interdepartmental Relations, the Committee on Courses of Instruction, the Committee on Educational Policy, and the Committee on Senate Policy (McConnell, 1966; Eley, 1964). The report will also compare the characteristics and previous committee experience of those faculty who served on these committees with those who served on other committees over a ten-year period and with a representative sample of Berkeley faculty. A review of relevant literature will provide some basis for this analysis (Mortimer & McConnell, in press).

REVIEW OF SOME RELEVANT LITERATURE

Oligarchic Control by Professional-Amateur Administrators

Clark (1963a) stated that the structure of faculty participation in academic government parallels that of the society at

large and is apparently normal to a representative mass democracy. This common model of political man is comprised of a few actives who participate a great deal and who comprise the ruling oligarchy or political elite, a larger group which constitutes an alert and informed public which participates modestly, and finally an apathetic group which does not participate at all but may, under certain conditions, become much more active (Dahl, 1963).

Milbrath (1965) supported this general structure of political behavior when he summarized the literature on political participation by classifying the polity into gladiators, political spectators, and nonvoters. Gladiators are heavily involved in the details of political activity. They may hold public or party office or be party workers. Spectators remain intelligently aware of the issues but refrain from active participation in political affairs. Nonvoters comprise the apathetic group. According to Milbrath, the activities in which gladiators and spectators participate constitute a hierarchy of political involvement and are cumulative. A gladiator will have performed most of the activities specified as spectator activities on the way to his heavy political involvement. Spectators become an important source for political activity only when aroused by political crises.

Campbell et al.(1965) have documented that politics is of little interest to most people when the political atmosphere is relatively free of crisis. The public generally exhibits marked

unfamiliarity with policy questions, and this provides decision makers with the necessary degree of freedom to exercise their judgment (Campbell et al., 1964; Almond & Verba, 1965). Almond and Verba also made this point when they claimed that intense emotional involvement in politics endangers the balance between activity and passivity which depends on the low salience of politics for the public. In short, the management of affect becomes important. Politics must not become so practical that the populace loses emotional involvement in it, but it must not become so controversial that the public becomes too much involved. Boyer (1964) suggested that some interest in government is needed to sustain the system's legitimacy, while some degree of apathy is needed to sustain administrative initiative and power.

The existence of a small core of political professionals, however, is not entirely attributed to the fact of general apathy. The need for political expertise is another factor which makes the elite necessary. Michels (1959) spoke of the technical indispensability of leadership and the general inability of the masses to govern themselves. His "iron law of oligarchy" has been widely quoted as an indispensable characteristic of any large organization for the past fifty years. Max Weber (1959) also supported the necessity of this managerial pattern.

The factors which support the minority control of groups were summarized by Monsen and Cannon (1965) as follows: 1) large

size, which necessitates smaller, more workable groups for making decisions; 2) a monopoly over political and managerial skills; 3) control over sources of revenue; and 4) the ability to spend time on the group's activities. The small core of political professionals who control the political process seems, then, to be a fact of life in a democratic society.

Character of the Oligarchy--Scholarly Productivity and Value Orientations

Those who operate in an organizational environment often adjust quite differently to the pressures with which they are confronted. The kinds of adjustments that are made are as much a reflection of personal needs as they are a function of the organizational requisites for successful performance. Because of this, the generalization that the ruling elites rarely include the scholarly productive might be stated as follows: Those who participate heavily in academic governance have little time for research and/or publication. Theoretically, these statements different orientations among faculty in their adjustment to academic life. Table 1 is a summary of some of the terminology that scholars have used in describing the varying orientations to the many roles of academic man. Those faculty who are locally oriented would be expected to put less emphasis on their scholarly or professional role than on teaching or administrative roles. Similarly, one could expect less publishing from those devoting much time to committee work than from those whose

raison d'être is research.

Authority and Power in Academic Government

Millett (1963) has argued that the concepts of bureaucracy found in the literature of business and public administration have little direct relevance to the academic community and may even be misleading. His argument was directed against the presupposition of hierarchy which characterizes the analyses of most behavioral theorists. On the other hand, Clark (1963a) pointed out that the elaborate system of committees that characterizes the organization of faculty government has resulted in a trend away from the informal collegium idea and toward formal organization. Demerath, Stephens, and Taylor (1967) took the position that there is a mixture of bureaucratic and collegial organizational patterns.

TABLE 1

Terminology Describing Faculty Orientations

Clark (1963b)	Gouldner (1958)	Gustad (1966)
Teacher	Locals	Scholar
Scholar-researcher	a. The dedicated b. The true bureaucrat	Curriculum advisor
The demonstrator	c. The homeguard	Entrepreneur
The consultant	d. The elders	Consultant
	Cosmopolitans	Administrator
	a. The outsiders b. The empire builders	Cosmopolitan

The debate tends to revolve around Millett's belief in the model of consensual administration as the norm of academic life. Theoretically, the argument draws heavily on the kinds of adjustments which the individual and an organization make between the two essentially polar ideal types of professional and administrative authority. These patterns of accommodation (or conflict) are the subject of much research on authority and power. For example, Peabody (1962) distinguished between formal and functional authority. Formal authority is based on hierarchical and legitimate or legal position, while functional authority is based on competence, technical knowledge, or charisma. Professionals characteristically look to competence and peer evaluation as their prime source of control while stressing individuality and individual autonomy in organizational relationships. (Kornhauser, in 1962, offered a list of professional values.) Organizational (administrative) authority, on the other hand, stresses formal, legal, and hierarchical relations. This, of course, results in strains and conflict and eventually leads to accommodations between the two types of authority, especially in organizations which rely heavily on professionals for their lifeblood. A detailed discussion of administrative versus professional authority may be found in Etzioni's 1964 work and in Blau and Scott (1962).

A summary of various scholars' viewpoints reveals considerable similarity as to the sources and kinds of strains inherent in the professional's adjustment to bureaucratic pressures. There

seems to be a degree of consensus that 1) varying goals, 2) supervisory control mechanisms, and 3) different reference groups cause conflict and necessitate a balancing between the two types of authority (Kornhauser, 1962; Marcson, 1960; Scott, 1966). Not all of these strains exist in every organization, however. In studying an industrial research laboratory, LaPorte (1965) found only two of these strains--differential goal orientations and restrictive administrative procedures--out of a possible seven.

Finally, it is important to note that Millett's level of analysis was the academic community in general. That is, his model of consensus drew heavily on the relationships between the various parties which comprise the academic community--administration, faculty, students, and alumni. He had less to say about the relationships which exist within these components.

Based on this experience in normal political/administrative behavior in government and other organizations, one would also expect to find a small core of gladiators in an academic organization. These professional amateur administrators are likely to have little time for research and/or publication activity, not because of lack of ability, but rather due to differing patterns of accommodation to organizational life.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

This report on faculty self-government and participation in campus governance at the University of California at Berkeley does not reproduce the considerable amount of raw data obtained in the research. Rather it summarizes and offers conclusions wherever possible.

Chapter 2 provides a brief history of the Academic Senate, a description of the evolution of Senate committee structure, and a record of its action in times of crisis. In Chapter 3 some characteristics of Senate committee members and chairmen are compared to a representative sample of faculty. Chapters 4 and 5 analyze some of the informal practices of Senate operation as well as describe and analyze in detail the operation of six important Senate committees. Principal data sources for these two chapters include Senate documents, committee reports, and in-depth interviews with committee members and administrators.

Chapter 6 offers some conclusions on decision making in faculty committees and analyzes the liaison relationship between Senate committees and the administration. Chapter 7 discusses how crises affect normal decision-making patterns and the factors that tend to sustain academic oligarchies. The author concludes that faculty-administrative relations at Berkeley consist of separate spheres of jurisdictions on certain issues. The author urges the overt recognition of organizational conflicts and adoption of a

system of shared authority.

LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

Specific limitations of the research are mentioned throughout this report. In general, however, it should be noted that the study concentrates on a ten-year period; events which occurred prior to 1957-58 or after June 1967 are not fully discussed. Also, the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate forms the level of analysis. By focusing on faculty participation in campus governance, the study does not analyze important developments in either the Universitywide Senate or in the faculties of the separate colleges, schools, and/or departments on the Berkeley campus.

Finally, six committees of the Berkeley Division were selected for analysis, and other committees are not discussed in detail. Some other committees, such as the Committee on Academic Freedom, the Graduate Council,or the Committee on Privilege and Tenure, can be of crucial importance in certain cases.

CHAPTER II

THE ACADEMIC SENATE: HISTORY, ORGANIZATION, AND ACTIONS IN TIMES OF CRISIS

This chapter sketches some background for a more detailed analysis of Senate committees at Berkeley. It briefly outlines the early history of the Academic Senate, the formal authority structure of the Universitywide and Berkeley Senates and their organization, and describes some of the Berkeley Senate's actions in times of campus crisis.

HISTORY

The history of the Academic Senate at Berkeley is almost as old as the University itself. The first Senate meeting was held in 1869, one year after the founding of the University. From that time up to 1920, the University was dominated successively by the Regents (1869 to 1899) and the charismatic leadership of Benjamin Ide Wheeler, with the Senate in a subservient position.

According to Cline and Hutson (1966), the early Senate dealt with innocuous matters such as the relative weight of the final examination compared with the term's work. During the period from 1869 to 1899 the Regents did not hesitate in hiring and firing either presidents or faculty. In 1881 the Regents formed a visitation committee which eventually resulted in the outright dismissal of several faculty members. From 1885 to 1915 the minutes of the

Academic Council, a committee of the Academic Senate, are the only tangible evidence that the Senate was still in existence. The Senate itself did not meet again until 1915.

The presidency of Benjamin Ide Wheeler redressed the emphasis on regental control in favor of control by the president (Stewart, 1960). Under Wheeler's direction the University was successful in recruiting and holding many of the distinguished faculty who eventually led the faculty revolt of 1920, which was successful in obtaining certain concessions about faculty autonomy from the Regents. Specifically, a Senate Budget Committee was provided for in the Standing Orders of the Regents; the faculty gained control over the appointment of Senate committees through an elected Committee on Committees; and departmental chairmen were appointed by the president in consultation with the department rather than by merely awarding the position to the senior professor in the department (Cline & Hutson, 1966).

Before moving to a description of more recent events, one other event should be discussed--the oath. On March 25, 1949, the Regents of the University voted unanimously to substitute for the oath already required of all University appointees, one designed to strengthen the prohibition against University employment of communists. On August 25, 1950, thirty-one members of the University faculty were dismissed by the Regents for refusing to sign. Twenty-four of the non-signers were from the Berkeley campus. This situation resulted

in conflict both within the faculty community and between the faculty and the Regents. Stewart (1950) described how some faculty members turned into "stool pigeons" and carried information about the activities of their colleagues directly to the Regents [p. 76]. The thirty-one non-signers dismissed from the University faculty in 1950 were reinstated by the California Supreme Court two years later. One of Gardner's (1967) main points is that the conflict was not one of principle but "in its main outlines and principal events it was a power struggle, a series of personal encounters between proud and influential men [p. 1]."

Gardner's analysis points out that "The Academic Senate. . . had failed. . .to allow for ways and means of sampling opinions on matters affecting its members [p. 6]." The older men, who had worked for years with President Gordon Sproul, did not know the newer men on the faculty well. As a result, the older faculty who initially advised the president that he would not encounter insurmountable faculty opposition to the oath misread their colleagues badly. According to Gardner, ". . .those serving the Senate were placed time and again in the position of representing opinion later found to be unrepresentative of the faculty majority. This was a critical weakness for which the Senate paid dearly [p. 7]."

Within the Senate itself there was some disagreement over the power of any advisory committee to negotiate in behalf of the

faculty. The position taken was that the Senate itself must first discuss and ratify any positions taken by a Senate committee (Gardner, 1967).

The oath controversy heightened the Senate's reluctance to grant to any of its agencies the authority to act in behalf of the body. This is still an important consideration in judging the effectiveness and viability of the Berkeley Senate. With one or two exceptions noted below, no one person or group has been able to "speak" for the Senate.

FORMAL AUTHORITY

The Standing Orders of the Regents, Chapter IX, provide the basis for the organization of the Academic Senate (University of California, November 1966). The Standing Orders specify the members of the Senate to be the president, vice-presidents, chief campus officers, deans, directors, registrars, chief librarians, those instructional persons with the title of instructor up to professor, and acting associate and full professors. The Academic Senate can perform such duties as the Board of Regents may direct and can exercise such powers as the board may confer upon it.

The Standing Orders give the Academic Senate certain duties, powers, and privileges, subject to the approval of the Regents. The Senate shall determine the conditions for admission, for certificates, and shall recommend to the president all candidates for degrees. It is also empowered to authorize and supervise all courses of

instruction in the academic and professional schools, with the exceptions noted, subject to the approval of the president. The Senate determines the membership of the several faculties except that departments can determine their own administrative organization, subject to the approval of the president. The Standing Orders also authorize the Senate to select committees to advise the chancellors and the president on the budget and the libraries and to present its views on any University matter through the president.

ORGANIZATION

Traditionally, the University Senate was administered from Berkeley, but with the growth in the number of campuses, a new structure was devised, and new Senate divisions have been added so that in 1967 each of the nine campuses had its own Senate. The statewide Senate was organized into Northern (Berkeley, Davis, San Francisco, and Mount Hamilton) and Southern (Los Angeles, Riverside, and La Jolla) Sections until 1953, when two representative assemblies were elected by "wards" which were broadly representative of the various academic areas. The Berkeley and Los Angeles faculties were fairly successful in exercising de facto control over the Senate's separate assemblies. An elaborate set of local committees paralleled Senate committees for each of the major campuses.

In 1963, a single statewide Representative Assembly was established. The Representative Assembly has its own set of committees which parallel, for the most part, those at the campus or divisional

level. Under considerable pressure from the faculty and under the leadership of former President Kerr, a great deal of autonomy for local affairs has come to reside in the divisional Senates.

The Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate became a fully autonomous division of the Northern Section with the adoption of bylaws at its October 7, 1957, meeting. This occurred as a result of recommendations made and adopted by a special Northern Section Committee on the Reorganization of the Northern Section of the Academic Senate and a divisional Special Committee on Organization (University of California, May 21, 1957). Prior to this, special committees of the Northern Section of the Senate were established on the Davis and San Francisco campuses to handle strictly local matters. Berkeley controlled the Northern Section and was expected to handle its strictly local affairs in that body. To redress this situation, the Berkeley Division was organized so that each of the three major campuses of the Northern Section would have its own separate division, increasing the autonomy of the separate divisions within the existing sectional and Universitywide Representative Assembly structures. The Report of the Special Committee on Organization, which set up the Berkeley Division, consisted largely of recommended bylaws and was adopted with only one change from the floor; the number required for a quorum was reduced from one hundred to seventy-five members (University of California, October 7, 1957).

According to its Bylaws,

> The Berkeley Division is a committee of the Academic Senate. It has authority to organize, to select its own officers and committees, to adopt rules for the conduct of its business; to receive and consider reports and recommendations from the Faculties of colleges and schools located wholly or partly on the Berkeley campus, from its other Divisional committees, from local administrative officers, and from other Divisions; to originate and take final action on legislation substantially affecting only the Division; to establish Faculties in schools and colleges located wholly on the Berkeley campus; to transmit directly to the President resolutions on any matter of University concern, with copies to the Assembly of the Academic Senate; to initiate memorials to the Regents; and to submit reports and recommendations to the Senate or to the Assembly concerning changes in Senate legislation and such other matters as it may deem appropriate [University of California, November 8, 1966a, p. 17].

In summary, the statewide Academic Senate is a federation with a central Representative Assembly and nine quasi-autonomous Senates, one on each campus.

During the ten years under study, the Berkeley Division operated as a town meeting. Faculty from the rank of instructor through full professor are Senate members and can participate directly in meetings.

Standing Committees

The decade from 1957-58 to 1966-67 was one or rapid growth for the Berkeley campus and the Academic Senate. The Senate's membership increased 45 percent from approximately 1085 to 1568 members. The frequency of divisional meetings increased from two to four per year to fifteen while the Division's standing committees increased from thirteen to twenty-eight during this period. It is

not the intention of this report to dwell extensively on the activities of each standing committee. Six committees will receive intensive analysis in following chapters.

Table 2 provides general classification for the thirty-five standing committees which existed from 1957-58 to 1967-68. The classifications are suggestive rather than definitive. Educational policy encompasses committees that deal with qualitative matters of educational policy and planning. Curriculum includes committees that deal with course, degree, or curricular requirements. Faculty affairs column is composed of those committees which deal with faculty welfare--academic freedom, faculty personnel decisions, and fringe benefits. Committees classified as Senate affairs are chiefly concerned with the mechanics of Senate operation. The Senate Policy Committee is included here rather than under educational policy because it seems to deal more with specific Senate concerns than with questions of general policy. The awards category lists the committees which make awards to faculty and students, while the student affairs category includes the three committees which deal with student problems.

TABLE 2

Standing Committees of the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate, 1957-58 to 1967-68, Classified by Issue Area

I Educational policy	II Curriculum	III Faculty affairs
1. Academic planning	1. American history and institutions*	1. Academic freedom
2. Admissions and enrollment	2. Board of educational development	2. Budget and inter-departmental relations
3. Athletic policy	3. Council for special curricula	3. Privilege and tenure
4. Educational policy	4. Courses of instruction	4. University welfare
5. Graduate council	5. Schedule*	
6. Library	6. Subject A	
7. Research	7. Teacher education	
8. Teaching	8. University extension	

IV Senate affairs	V Awards	VI Student affairs
1. Assembly representation	1. Faculty research lecturer	1. Faculty representative to the Associated Students
2. Chairman's advisory committee on agenda*	2. Honorary degrees	2. Ombudsman
3. Committee on committees	3. Memorial resolutions	3. Student affairs
4. Elections	4. Prizes	
5. Membership*	5. Undergraduate scholarships	
6. Rules and jurisdiction		
7. Senate policy		

Source: University of California, Bylaws of the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate (1957-58 to 1967-68).

* No longer in existence.

Special Committees

It has been the practice of the Division to appoint special committees to handle specific situations as they arise, and nineteen special committees were appointed from 1957-58 to 1967-68. Many committees completed their charges by issuing one report; others issued many reports; still others became standing committees. The activities of some special committees will be discussed later in this chapter.

Two special committees were the architects of the Senate organization. The Special Committee on Organization was appointed in 1957 to accomplish the legislative revisions required to make the Berkeley Division a committee of the Northern Section, as mentioned earlier. The Special Committee on Reorganization was appointed in 1963 to organize the Berkeley Division in the light of the change in the Universitywide Senate from separate Northern and Southern Sections to one statewide Representative Assembly with nine separate divisions (University of California, March 5, 1963). The Reorganization Committee's report added nine standing committees to the Berkeley Division (University of California, May 12, 1964a & b). Instead of the president of the University being ex officio chairman of the Division, this position was filled upon appointment by the Committee on Committees, and the vice chairmanship of the Division was abolished. Membership in the Berkeley Division was extended to the president, chancellor, deans, directors, registrar, and chief librarian at

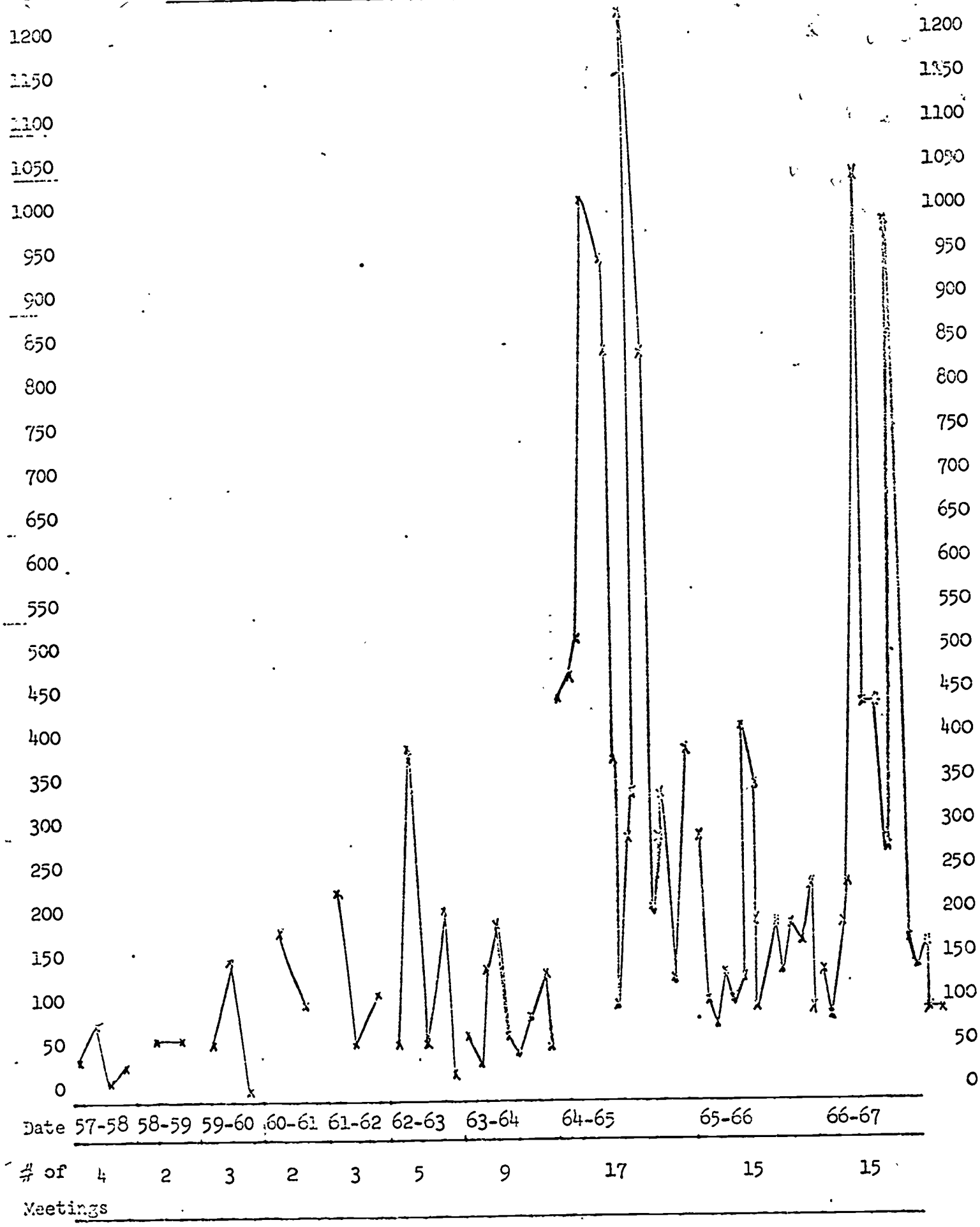
Berkeley, as well as to astronomers at Mount Hamilton and vice presidents, deans, and directors of statewide units who chose to enroll. A new bylaw, number 10, specified the duties and responsibilities of committees and charged them with the task of reporting their actions to the Division. When recommendations to administrative officers were made, these were to be reported to the Division when such report was in the best interest of the University. The Division unanimously adopted the committee report with only minor editorial comments and changes in wording.

TIMES OF CRISIS

Attendance at Senate meetings (approximations are usually reported in the Minutes) provides a good record of the crises which have confronted the Berkeley faculty during the ten years under study (Figure 1). However, the increase in absolute attendance figures in Figure 1 must be qualified. The average attendance at Senate meetings increased from 50.25 in 1957-58 to 106.11 in 1963-64 to 327.64 in 1966-67. The attendance ratio increased from one out of every 21.6 Senate members to one out of every 12.97 and to one out of every 4.71 in those respective years. If attendance at two meetings during the Strike of 1966 is not counted, the average attendance in 1966-67 drops to 128.08, and the attendance ratio drops to one out of 13.80 members, representing a slight decline from the 1963-64 ratio of 12.97.

FIGURE 1

Attendance at the Meetings of the
Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate: 1957-58 to 1966-67



Source: University of California, Minutes of the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate (October 1957-June 1967).

The frequency of Senate meetings, the average attendance, and the size of the Senate's membership all have increased, if these three years characterize the ten-year period. The numerical increases are not enough to increase faculty attendance relative to total membership, but rather reflect a decline from 1963-64 to 1966-67. Whether the decline would continue probably depends on the number of future crises which confront the Division. Three of the most important crises have been the change to year-round operations, the Free Speech Movement, and the Strike of 1966.

Year-round Operations

The first time Division attendance reached 400 voting members occurred at a special meeting on November 20, 1962, to consider the matter of proposed plans for year-round operation of the University. The chancellor addressed the Division, and eventually this matter was referred to the Educational Policy and Budget Committees.

Free Speech Movement (FSM)

The fall of 1964 saw the eruption of the attendance figures into the 900 to 1200 range. This coincided with student demonstrations and strikes which have been called the Free Speech Movement (FSM). While the total effects of the FSM on higher education have been the subject of much social research (Lunsford, 1965), this report is interested only in the Berkeley Senate's response to the crisis. The FSM directly or indirectly resulted in the creation of four

special committees: the Ad Hoc Committee on Student Conduct, the Emergency Executive Committee, the Special Committee of Seven, and the Select Committee on Education. Recommendations which emanated from the Special Committee of Seven also resulted in the creation of the Senate Policy Committee.

Ad Hoc Committee on Student Conduct. On September 30, 1964, five students were asked to appear before the dean of men for collecting funds at tables set up in an area which was not designated for this purpose. The five students plus three leaders of approximately 500 protestors who were gathered in the corridors refused to enter the dean's office to discuss disciplinary action. All eight of them were suspended indefinitely by the chancellor (Lunsford, 1965).

Student protestors continued to list the reinstatement of the eight students as one of their demands in future contacts with the administration, and on October 2 an agreement was reached which provided that the duration of the suspensions be submitted within one week to the Student Conduct Committee of the Academic Senate. In subsequent negotiations the chancellor and the president agreed to submit the suspended students' case to an ad hoc committee appointed by the Senate but advisory to the chancellor. This committee was appointed on October 15.

The ad hoc committee recommended that the students be reinstated while the hearings were being conducted, but the chancellor refused. The committee's subsequent recommendations on November 13

were that six of the eight students be reinstated with "censures" of no more than six weeks and that the suspension of the other two be retained until November 16. The Regents approved this solution with only minor modifications.

The Emergency Executive Committee (EEC). The EEC was created at the December 8, 1964, meeting "to represent the Division in dealing with problems arising out of the present crisis during the remainder of the present academic year, reporting its actions regularly to the Division and convening the Division when necessary [University of California, December 8, 1964, p. ii]." An amendment to have the EEC appointed by the Committee on Committees was defeated. Elections were held December 11, and a second ballot was held on December 14 to choose the six members of the EEC. The chairman of the Division was an ex officio member. The EEC was also authorized to ask any standing committees for help or to appoint ad hoc committees as it saw fit.

The Executive Committee reported to the Division, at a special meeting on January 5, 1965, that the purposes of the Senate's resolutions passed on December 8 had been achieved (University of California, February 8, 1965). These resolutions urged that there be no University discipline for political actions through December 8; that the University place no restrictions on the content of speech or advocacy or on off-campus political activities; that the time, place, and manner of on-campus political activity be regulated reasonably to protect the normal functions of the University; and

that future disciplinary measures in the area of political activity be determined by a committee of the Academic Senate [Lunsford, 1965, p. 9]. The committee had met with members of the Regents on December 17 and with a committee of Regents on December 23, and the results of these meetings were reported to the Division in detail.

The March 8, 1965, meeting of the Division (University of California, March 8, 1965) received a report from EEC responding to the acting chancellor's invitation to reassess the educational program at Berkeley. The EEC moved that a Select Committee on Education be appointed:

> (a) to find the ways in which the traditions of humane learning and scientific inquiry can be best advanced under the challenging conditions of size and scale that confront our university community;
>
> (b) to examine the various changes in educational programs currently under consideration in the several schools and colleges... [p. v].

The Division passed this motion.

The EEC convened a special March 12 meeting of the Division. On March 10, the president and acting chancellor had announced their intention to offer resignations at the Regents' meeting of March 13, and the EEC wanted to determine the sense of the Division on this matter. Eleven hundred faculty passed a seven-part, EEC-sponsored resolution recommending that the acting chancellor be made chancellor and that the resignations of the president and the acting chancellor be withdrawn.

At the March 18 special meeting of the Division, the EEC reported it was going to meet with a committee of the Regents to discuss control of student conduct on campus. The May 10, 1965, Senate meeting amended and passed an EEC-sponsored resolution on control of student conduct, favoring "the declaration of general principles by the Board and the delegation of responsibility for the declaration of particular policies and detailed regulations to the administration and faculties of the several campuses /University of California, May 10, 1965b, p. vi/."

The EEC convened a special meeting of the Division on May 27 in which the chairman reported orally for the information of the Division. The Division passed a motion of commendation of the EEC and requested that the committee continue to serve until the first meeting of the fall semester 1965. The committee expired on October 11, 1965.

The Special Committee of Seven (The Hart Committee). The Hart Committee, under chairman James Hart, was created at the December 10, 1964, meeting of the Division (University of California) "to investigate ways and means of improving the effectiveness of the Division, including especially the desirability of an elective standing Executive Committee and also an elective assembly to handle routine legislative matters /p. iii/." The committee was charged to report not later than March 1965. The resolution's preamble stressed the need to increase the effectiveness of the Division in formulating and implementing the views of the faculty.

The Hart Committee issued its report on March 29, 1965, at a meeting of the Division called especially for this purpose. As its first recommendation the committee moved that the chancellor be removed as an ex officio member of the Committee on Committees in order to "sharpen the distinction between Division Committees appointed by the Committee on Committees, and Administrative Committees appointed by the Chancellor [University of California, March 29, 1965a, p. 3]."

The Hart Committee's answer to the question of an elective standing executive committee was to point out that such a committee can always be appointed when an emergency arises but that attention should be directed "to such means as may help to avoid the creation of an emergency [p. 2]." The committee sought to develop an agency smaller and more flexible than the entire Division to aid in identifying significant academic issues as they begin to take shape in standing committees. This agency would not act in either a decision-making capacity or as a negotiating arm of the Division. A motion to amend the committee's motion to create a Senate Policy Committee along the lines stated above was narrowly defeated by a vote of 125 to 115. The defeated amendment read as follows: "To convene the Division when the Committee deems it necessary; and to act for the Division in emergencies in order to further such policies as the Division may have adopted, until the Division can be convened [University of California, April 5, 1965, ...

The Hart Committee reported that with the creation of a

Senate Policy Committee, a representative assembly would unnecessarily complicate the Division's governance structure. The Hart Committee members believed that the Policy Committee's activities would bring out a sizable number of Division members, hopefully equal to the attendance which would result from the creation of an assembly at Berkeley.

The Hart Committee Report also recommended that: 1) the chairman's Advisory Committee on Agenda be abolished when the first Senate Policy Committee was confirmed and 2) that noncontroversial items be placed on a consent calendar to be approved as one item on the agenda of Division meetings. Both proposals were accepted by the Division on April 5, 1965, and the committee was discharged at that time.

The Select Committee on Education (The Muscatine Committee). The Select Committee on Education, called the Muscatine Committee after its chairman, Charles Muscatine, was created in response to the remarks of the acting chancellor concerning a motion by the Emergency Executive Committee passed on March 8, 1965. The charge to the Select Committee also included the responsibility of communicating information on the educational programs being considered in the various schools and colleges to the wider campus community and considering the implications of these programs in the light of the challenging conditions of size and scale confronting the University.

The committee published its report, entitled Education at

Berkeley, which included a minority report and tabular presentation of data in an appendix (University of California, 1966). The report lists forty-two recommendations on issues such as how to secure recognition of teaching in faculty promotional criteria, the desirability of smaller classes and grading reforms, more selective admissions, and the upgrading of teaching assistants. The Senate considered these recommendations during the spring and fall of 1966, and the committee was discharged in February 1967. Perhaps the most important innovation recommended by the committee and adopted by the Division concerns the forming of the Board of Educational Development (BED) and the creation of the post of assistant chancellor for educational development.

The BED is a unique faculty committee in that it has the authority to "sponsor, conduct and direct...continuing studies of the needs and opportunities for educational development..." and to initiate and administer experimental instructional programs outside normal departmental structures for up to five years [pp. 113-119]. The board is also empowered to seek outside funding for the support of experimental courses and curricula.

Legislation creating the office of assistant chancellor for education was enacted on March 31, 1966. The assistant chancellor is an ex officio voting member of the Board of Educational Development and is responsible for administering the board's policies and programs and for securing the necessary funds.

The Strike of 1966

The Governance Commission. As a result of student disturbances from November 30, 1966, to December 5, 1966, initially protesting the presence of Navy recruiters on campus but resulting in the presence of outside police on the campus, a student strike was called. The Division met in regular session on December 5 to pass a resolution which included a charge to the Senate Policy Committee "to explore new avenues for increasing student participation in the making and enforcing of campus rules and to report to the Division. Further, we call for the creation of a faculty-student commission to consider new modes of governance and self-regulation appropriate to a modern American university community... [University of California, December 5, 1966b, pp. i-ii]." The Policy Committee and the Student Affairs Committee proposed legislation that the Academic Senate and the Associated Students jointly establish a Study Commission on University Governance composed of six faculty and six students (University of California, January 1, 1967).

The Study Commission was charged to consider the definition of areas of exclusive, primary, or shared responsibility between faculty, students, and administration. It was also charged to consider such other areas as appropriate student participation in department and college governance, student governance structures, the quality of the free forum at Berkeley, the fairness of disciplinary procedures, and the policies governing the activities of nonstudents

on the campus.

The Study Commission's majority report was issued in January 1968 and the minority report in April. At the regular February 5, 1968, meeting of the Division, the Governance Commission's proposals were referred directly to appropriate committees of the Division. A motion to commit the entire report first to the Senate Policy Committee was defeated.

The Dismissal of Clark Kerr. The Division met on January 24, 1966, in emergency session following the dismissal of President Kerr by the Board of Regents. The dismissal took place very close to the inauguration of a new governor, renewing faculty fears of political intervention as did the new governor's proposals for the imposition of tuition and University budget cuts.

The Division unanimously passed a resolution which extended thanks to President Kerr. Another resolution was passed which called on the Regents to strenuously resist political intervention in University affairs, asked that the legislature provide adequate financial support, requested that tuition not be imposed, and asked that the advice and consent of the faculty be secured in the appointment of a new president. The Senate Policy Committee was given the responsibility for working with the chancellor and the Academic Council to further these objectives. At this same meeting the Division adopted plans for a public meeting to be conducted with full academic formality and to include distinguished speakers who would be invited to discuss

"the needs and purposes of the modern great university [p. vi]."

Finally, the Division charged the Committee on University Welfare to deliberate and report on the following questions:

> 1) Are there possible avenues by which the position of Academic Senate memoers relative to the Administration and Regents can be changed from that of petitioners to negotiators in matters of university welfare?
>
> 2) Would a Professors' Union with its attendant power to negotiate by collective bargaining with Administration and Regents be an effective instrument for allowing the members of the Academic Senate to take part in decisions affecting matters of university welfare?
>
> 3) If the answer to 2) is affirmative, what union structure and affiliation would be most appropriate [p. vi]?

The Welfare Committee's report, issued on April 10, 1967 (University of California), quoted the Senate Policy Committee's March 7 State of the Campus message at length to answer point one of the Division's charge. The Welfare Committee then recommended that the Division urge the Statewide Assembly to delegate to the Academic Council the responsibility for representing the faculty before the Regents. The committee's reaction to unionization was negative. No action was taken on the report.

SUMMARY

The early history of the Academic Senate showed an organization dominated by Regents and then by the president. The faculty revolt of 1920 gained some autonomy for the faculty in the selection

of a Committee on Committees and department chairmen. The oath controversy split the faculty into many factions and brought attention to the fact that many Senate leaders were badly out of touch with their constituency.

The current Universitywide Academic Senate is a federated structure which consists of a Representative Assembly and nine quasi-autonomous divisions, one for each campus. The Berkeley Division has operated as a town meeting form of government with a large portion of its work being done by its thirty-five standing and nineteen special committees. These committees, with few exceptions, exclude students and administrators from their membership.

The size of the Senate, the number of Senate committees, and the frequency of Senate meetings have all increased during the ten-year period studied. Average attendance at Senate meetings does not appear to have increased as rapidly as Senate membership.

Senate action in times of crisis has been varied. While recommendations on the change to year-round operations were handled largely by two standing committees, the FSM and the student strike of 1966 resulted in the creation of several special committees and the Senate Policy Committee. The Policy Committee is not an executive committee; it was designed to advise the Senate of impending problems. The Senate has been reluctant to delegate the authority to speak for the Senate to a committee. The Emergency Executive Committee was the exception and it was elected by the entire Senate rather than appointed by the Committee on Committees.

CHAPTER III

FACULTY CHARACTERISTICS

In this chapter the characteristics of a representative sample of Berkeley faculty are compared with those of Senate committee members, committee chairmen, members of the six committees selected for study, and the chairmen of these committees. More specifically, a representative sample of Berkeley faculty who had not served on a Senate committee during the 1957-58 to 1966-67 period was drawn from each of three years--1957-58, 1963-64, and 1966-67 (N = 502). The comparison group consisted of every person who had served as a Senate committee member, but not as chairman, during the ten-year period (N = 452). Those who served as committee chairmen during this period constituted the third group (N = 138). Data on the members (N = 237) and chairmen (N = 43) of the six selected committees were viewed separately and will be discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. When possible, the data were also analyzed for each of three years within the ten-year period and also for the entire ten-year period.

Table 3 illustrates the basic matrix for the statistical comparisons. The representative sample was compared to the other four groups, with discipline area usually held constant. In some cases, the discipline area was broken down into departments, and this is noted in the text. In some cases, the last two groups, members and chairmen of the six selected committees, were not

TABLE 3

Basic Matrix for Statistical Tests

Discipline area	Representative sample		Committee members		Committee chairmen		Six selected committees		Chairman of selected committees	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Physical sciences	58	11.6	48	10.6	27	19.6	34	14.4	10	28.6
Other sciences	72	14.3	45	9.9	14	10.2	32	13.5	4	11.4
Humanities	71	14.1	91	20.2	31	22.6	54	22.8	4	11.4
Social sciences	49	9.8	73	16.2	14	10.1	30	12.7	4	11.4
Foreign languages	43	8.6	22	4.9	4	2.9	9	3.8	0	-
Agriculture	33	6.6	23	5.1	10	7.3	23	9.7	5	14.3
Engineering	75	14.9	54	12.0	14	10.1	26	11.0	3	8.6
Other professional schools	101	20.1	96	21.3	24	17.4	29	12.2	5	14.3
TOTALS	502		452		138		237		35	

analyzed and in other cases individual committees were analyzed.

Chi-square tests for uncorrelated proportions were used to determine whether the distributions were significant at the .01, .02, or .05 probability levels. In cases where the chi-square value was determined to be significant, the computer program printed out the observed row and column proportions, computed the differences between them and these differences were tested for significance.

The post hoc technique is based upon the chi-square analog of Scheffe's Theorem.

The relevant formula for chi-square is:

$$X^2 = \sum \frac{(\text{Observed} - \text{Expected})^2}{\text{Expected}} .$$

For the post hoc technique the confidence interval formula is:

$$(\hat{P}k_1 - \hat{P}k_2) \pm \sqrt{X_{k-1}^2(1-\alpha)} \sqrt{\frac{\hat{p}k_1\hat{q}k_1}{Nk_1} + \frac{\hat{p}k_2\hat{q}k_2}{Nk_2}} .$$

The post hoc technique is described in detail by Marascuilo (1966), who points out that the chi-square comparison results in a wider confidence interval than standard t post hoc tests and is, therefore, a less powerful test. The main advantage in the chi-square analog method is that the cumulative probability of a Type I error for all possible comparisons remains at a constant .05, .02, or .01 level.

Standard t tests were also used in order to test the

significance of the difference between uncorrelated means. The computer program tested these data at the .01, .05, and .10 levels of significance.

Statistical differences are cited but the discussion is not limited to these differences alone. In some cases there are "meaningful" comparisons which are not statistically significant and these are also discussed in the text. Social scientists disagree over whether tests of statistical significance should be used at all in descriptive research such as this. Lipset et al. (1962) discuss why they chose not to use statistical tests although their report presented much quantitative data and were eminently equipped to handle statistics. Criticism could be directed at the way in which the data were collapsed to complete the tests for the study reported here. Departments, for example, were arranged by discipline area, and possibly redefining these areas would produce different statistical results. In the chi-square data, for example, if the entire distribution is significant, the post hoc tests show which categories within the distribution are significant and these are reported. Some of the differences between proportions that are not significant but which do involve relatively large groups are also discussed. On the other hand, some of the statistically significant comparisons involve very small numbers of people and this is also reported.

Basically, the analysis sought to determine whether the groups differed on several variables, the extent and nature of the

differences, and whether the extent and nature of these differences changed over the ten-year period. The variables on which the groups were compared included: discipline area, sex, academic rank, alma mater, degree of administrative responsibility, duration at Berkeley, extent of committee experience, and publication performance.

DISCIPLINE AREA

Some statistically significant differences indicated that membership and chairmanship of Senate committees were linked to some extent to the participants' discipline area. The distributions among the disciplines of committee members and committee chairmen for the ten-year period were both significantly different from the sample distribution at the .01 level. Post hoc comparisons revealed that the proportion of committee members (N = 2, .4 percent) from the German department was significantly less than the proportion in the sample (N = 9, 1.8 percent). On the other hand, the proportion of committee members from the English department was greater than the proportion in the sample. Other categories which were overrepresented in the committee members' group, but not significantly so, include history, chemistry, and psychology, while mathematics and other physical sciences were underrepersented. The history, chemistry, and psychology departments had percentages of 3.6, 2.2, and 2.0 of the sample but percentages of 6.0, 3.8, and 3.8 of the committee members respectively, while mathematics and other physical sciences

categories had 5.8 percent and 6.4 percent of the sample but only 2.4 percent and 2.4 percent of the committee members.

The post hoc comparisons of the sample with committee chairmen, revealed that the English, chemistry, and physics departments had significantly greater proportions of the committee chairmen group than did the sample. The respective percentages are: chemistry, 2.2 percent of sample and 8.7 percent of chairmen; physics, 3.0 percent and 9.4 percent; and English, 2.2 percent and 10.9 percent. In contrast, the total proportion of all foreign languages in the sample was 8.6 percent (N = 43) but only 2.9 percent (N = 4) of committee chairmen.

When the distribution of the sample from the professional schools was compared with committee members, the difference was significant at the .02 level. Post hoc comparisons revealed the significant contrast to be between the school of business which was overrepresented among committee members and the college of environmental design, which was underrepresented. Although no significant differences were revealed between the distributions of the sample compared to the chairmen, there were some "meaningful" comparisons which should be noted. The school of education, while obtaining 2.9 percent of membership appointments, was not represented among committee chairmen, and the school of optometry had no representation among committee members or chairmen.

Comparison of the sample's distribution among the disciplines

with that of the selected committee members (differences significant at the .01 level) showed that the humanities were overrepresented (22.8 percent of committee members and 14.1 percent of sample) and the foreign languages underrepresented (3.8 percent of committee members and 8.6 percent of sample). Comparison of the sample with select committee chairmen showed differences significant at the .05 level. Foreign languages were not represented in the select committee chairmen group,and the college of engineering had only three representatives (8.6 percent compared to 14.9 percent of the sample). These were both significantly less than the physical sciences,which had 28.6 percent of the chairmen but only 11.6 percent of the sample.

Other data gathered for this study but not analyzed for statistical significance revealed some "important" relationships when the discipline areas of the members and chairmen of individual committees were examined. The Budget Committee had thirty different members over the ten-year period, nine of them from the professional schools. These professional school members came entirely from the colleges of engineering and agriculture and the school of business. Only 30 percent of the Budget Committee were from the professional schools while 41.6 percent of the sample were from these schools.

The Committee on Committees drew on the professional schools for 42.5 percent of its members over the ten-year period. The schools of law, social welfare, and forestry were included in the committee's members. The Committee on Educational Policy drew 25.9 percent of

its members from the professional schools, while the Committee on Courses of Instruction had 32.4 percent and the Senate Policy Committee had 27.2 percent from these schools.

The data were also analyzed by discipline area for three of the ten years in the sample period, 1957-58, 1963-64, and 1966-67. There was an increase in the percentage of chairmanships held by the combined membership of the school of agriculture and other professional schools categories over the ten-year period. From zero in 1957-58 (significant at the .02 level), the figure rose to 33.3 percent of chairmanships in 1963-64 and remained at a relatively stable 30.3 percent in 1966-67.

Possibly 1957-58 was an unusual year for committee chairmen but a more plausible explanation of these data is that as the number of special and standing committees increased, the supply of prospective chairmen had to be increased and this was beneficial to some of the professional schools.

Another possible explanation is that the professional schools began to push for more meaningful positions on committees. Some of the lobbying tactics used to accomplish this goal are described in Chapter 4. According to some respondents, a few professional schools became more "academically respectable" during the last decade and this could also be a factor in their securing an increased percentage of committee chairmanships.

In 1966-67, the number of select committee members from the foreign languages dropped to zero (significant at the .02 level). The number had never been high but this serves to illustrate the underrepresentation of foreign languages throughout the analysis.

The data for three specific years reveals some other interesting comparisons. The percentage of committee members from the physical sciences had been fairly close to their percentage of the representative group, except for 1957-58 in which they were overrepresented. The physical sciences were consistently overrepresented in committee chairmanships, however. Other sciences were consistently underrepresented in both members and chairmen of Senate committees.

In summary, the data show that the English department and the school of business were significantly overrepresented and the German department and the college of environmental design were significantly underrepresented in committee members. The departments of English, chemistry, and physics were significantly overrepresented in committee chairmen while foreign languages were underrepresented. Physical sciences were consistently overrepresented in the committee chairmen group but this relationship was not significant.

SEX

No statistically significant discrimination against women was revealed in the comparisons of the representative sample with

the committee members or chairmen. Discrimination against women probably operates more in gaining an appointment to the faculty at Berkeley than in Academic Senate committee activity. The proportion of women on the faculty declined from 10.5 percent to 8.8 percent to 3.1 percent in 1957-58, 1963-64, and 1966-67, respectively.

The proportion of women committee members also declined from 11 percent in 1957-58 to 3.0 percent in 1963-64, rising slightly to 3.7 percent in 1966-67. Only two women chairmen served during these three years.

Other data gathered for this study but not tested for statistical significance revealed that of the 237 different people on the six committees analyzed in this report only three were women, and none was chairman of these committees. The Committee on Academic Planning (which existed only during the last two years of the study), the Budget Committee, the Committee on Committees, and the Committee on Educational Policy had no women members for the ten-year period from 1957-58 to 1966-67.

ACADEMIC RANK

The academic rank of those in the representative sample was compared with the rank of committee members and the chairmen by discipline area for three of the ten years in the sample period. The only statistically significant chi-square involving academic

rank was revealed in the year 1963-64 for associate professors. The proportion of committee members who were associate professors differed significantly from the proportion of chairmen who were associates (significant at the .05 level). The post hoc tests showed that this was largely because no associate professors in the categories of other sciences, humanities, foreign languages and other professional schools were also chairmen of Senate committees, while these same areas did have some associate professor committee members.

Descriptively, the data revealed that while full professors accounted for only 47 percent to 52 percent of all faculty in the sample group, from 54 percent to 61 percent of the committee members and from 67 percent to 76 percent of committee chairmen were full professors. The data also revealed that certain discipline areas drew more heavily on their full professors for committee members than did other areas and that there was some change in this practice over the three years. The proportion of committee members from the physical sciences who were full professors ranged from 67 percent to 76 percent to 50 percent in each of the three years. Similar figures for the school of agriculture were 86 percent, 83 percent, and 57 percent for 1957-58, 1963-64, and 1966-67, respectively. The proportion of committee members from humanities who were full professors increased from 40 percent in 1957-58 to 51 percent in 1963-64 to 56 percent in 1966-67. The corresponding figures in engineering

were 45 percent, 62 percent, and 65 percent and in other professional schools, 43 percent, 62 percent, and 64 percent, respectively.

Viewing individual committees also revealed that committee participation by rank varied greatly by committee. Three standing committees, almost by their very nature, were composed solely of full professors, for the ten-year period: the Committee on Academic Planning, the Budget Committee, and the Faculty Research Lecturer Committee. Eleven of the nineteen special committees were also composed entirely of full professors, and four other special committees each had only one member who was not a full professor.

Seven standing committees were largely composed of full professors for the ten-year period: the Committee on Academic Freedom (9 of 10), Assembly Representatives (30 of 34), the Committee on Athletic Policy (19 of 20), the Committee on Committees (48 of 52), the Committee on Educational Policy (50 of 54), the Committee on Privilege and Tenure (11 of 14), and the Committee on the University Extension (12 of 14).

Some standing committees were staffed largely by faculty who were not full professors. These committees and the number of assistant and associate professors relative to the total appointments are as follows: the Committee on Elections (30 of 31), the Committee on Prizes (19 of 25), the Committee on Schedules (15 of 19), the Committee on Student Affairs (7 of 7), and the Committee on Undergraduate Scholarships (46 of 57).

Only two of the committees intensively analyzed in Chapter 4 and 5 changed in composition by rank over the ten-year period, both by admitting members of lower rank. The Committee on Courses of Instruction received two assistant professors as members in 1965-66, the year after FSM. That same year the Committee on Educational Policy received its first associate professor, and its first assistant professor was appointed in 1966-67.

In summary, while the data showed only one statistically significant relationship between the sample group and members and chairmen, full professors tended to dominate the membership of ten of the thirty-five standing committees and fifteen of nineteen special committees. Also five standing committees had membership composed largely of faculty below the rank of full professors. After FSM, two assistant professors were appointed to the Committee on Courses and one associate and one assistant professor were appointed to the Committee on Educational Policy.

SCHOOL OF DEGREE

There were no statistically significant differences between groups in the proportion of Berkeley degree holders when the sample was compared to committee members and committee chairmen. About 27 percent of the sample were Berkeley degree holders but 46 percent of those from the school of agriculture and 36 percent from the school of engineering held Berkeley degrees. Fifty-seven percent of the committee members from the school of agriculture and 70 percent

of chairmen held Berkeley degrees. While 26 percent of physical scientists in the sample obtained their degree from Berkeley, 42 percent of the committee members and 33 percent of the chairmen from the physical sciences were also Berkeley degree holders.

The proportions of Ivy League degree holders in both the members and chairmen of committees groups were significantly greater than in the sample (at the .02 and .05 levels, respectively). The significant differences occurred in the social sciences and foreign languages; only 35 percent of the social scientists in the sample held Ivy League degrees while 47 percent of the social science committee members were Ivy League degree holders. On the other hand, 35 percent of the foreign language faculty in the sample as compared to only 14 percent in the committee members group were Ivy League degree holders.

The distribution of the other schools category was significant at the .05 level. This is a good illustration of collapsing data "arbitrarily," as mentioned earlier. The other schools category includes most of the nation's leading independent institutions, whose graduates are often sought by Berkeley departments, for example, Stanford, MIT, University of Chicago, and Johns Hopkins. The significant contrast was the low proportion of physical science committee members who were in the other schools category. While 53.5 percent of the sample from physical sciences held degrees from other schools, only 27.1 percent of the committee members did.

The significant differences between the sample and committee chairmen were in humanities and engineering. Thirty-five percent of those in the sample from humanities were Ivy League degree holders while the corresponding figure for committee chairmen from humanities was 48 percent. While 12 percent of the sample from engineering held Ivy League degrees, no committee chairmen from engineering held Ivy League degrees.

In summary, the Ivy League was overrepresented in both members and chairmen while the other schools category was underrepresented in committee memberships. Berkeley degree holders did not have significantly greater proportions in either the members or chairmen groups. The Berkeley degree holders combined with those from the Ivy League, comprised 50 percent of the sample, 56 percent of the committee members, and 62 percent of chairmen.

ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITIES

The distribution of those in the representative sample who have held administrative appointments was compared to their counterparts in the committee members and chairmen groups. For data-gathering purposes, administrative responsibilities were recorded under four separate categories that corresponded to the levels at which the assignment was filled. The levels are: chancellor, dean, director or research institute or center, and department chairman. No distinction was made between different titles at the same level. For example, acting and associate dean were included in the dean

category, and acting and vice chancellor were included in the chancellor category.

The differences in distributions between the sample and committee members was significant at the .05 level, while the comparison of the sample with the committee chairmen showed no significant difference. The post hoc comparisons revealed that the difference between the proportions in foreign languages who have held administrative appointments was not as large as it was for the other discipline areas when the sample was compared to committee members. Seventy-eight percent of the committee members from engineering, 71 percent from social sciences, and 71 percent from physical sciences had had some administrative experience during the period, but only 54 percent from foreign languages had had such experience.

These data must be interpreted in the light of information obtained from the interviews of members of the Committee on Committees reported in Chapter 4. It is rare for an administrator, from department chairman to chancellor, to receive a Senate committee appointment concurrently with his administrative service. Several respondents pointed out that they had had a choice between accepting a Senate committee appointment or a departmental chairmanship.

There was a significant difference (.05 level) between the proportion of committee chairmen and committee members who had not had administrative experience. The significant difference, as revealed in the post hoc tests, was in the physical sciences.

Fifty-six percent of the committee chairmen from physical sciences had had no administrative experience during the ten-year period while the figure for members was only 29 percent.

These data revealed that committee members were more likely to have had administrative experience, within the ten-year period, than were committee chairmen. This is probably due to the belief that the chairmanship of a committee substitutes for other administrative duties and frees the individual from the press of accepting administrative responsibilities. Many times during the interviews committee service and/or administrative activity was explained as "something one has to do if asked."

There were, however, more subtle relationships which existed between certain kinds of committee service and administrative activity. Such relationships are not likely to be revealed in strictly statistical analyses. For example, appointees to the Special Committee on Budget Policy were all either department chairmen or former members of the Budget Committee. Past chairmen of the Budget Committee went on to become university dean of academic personnel, vice chancellor, and special assistant to the vice chancellor. Two chairmen of the Committee on Educational Policy resigned, one to become a vice chancellor, the other to chair a department. One chairman of the Committee on Committees resigned to become dean of a major college. Another chairman of this committee was dean at the same time he was chairman, but this was exceptional. Another problem not answered by the data was whether

committee service preceded or followed administrative activity. Some analysis of individual committee service and administrative activity would suggest further testing of the following statement: Some Senate committee service is desirable if one aspires to an administrative post. Once he has held an administrative position, an individual's visibility and hence acceptability for subsequent committee service has been enhanced. At Berkeley,administrative positions are usually held for specified periods, and once an administrator returns to his faculty status, one would expect his services would be requested on committees.

The exact relationship between committee service and administrative activity is not known. What these data do reveal is that those who serve on a Senate committee are quite likely to also accept administrative responsibilities.

AGE

A comparison of the mean ages of a representative sample with those of committee members and chairmen for 1957-58, 1963-64, and 1966-67, respectively, revealed only three statistically significant differences. The mean age of committee members were significantly lower (at the .10 level) than for those of the sample in both the humanities and total categories for 1957-58. In 1966-67 the mean age of committee chairmen from physical sciences was significantly higher (at the .05 level) than that of physical scientists in the representative sample.

While the mean ages of the representative sample went from 50.2 years to 48.5 and 45.4 years in the three respective years, the mean ages of the committee members went from 46.2 to 48 to 46.7 years and those of chairmen from 49.1 to 50.9 to 48.7 years. This means that whereas committee members and chairmen were younger than the representative sample in 1957-58, they were about the same age in 1963-64, and they were older than the sample in 1966-67, but this was not a statistically significant relationship.

A comparison between the representative sample and six committees selected for analysis in this study for 1957-58, 1963-64, and 1966-67 and for the ten-year period, revealed that the mean age for Committee on Courses members was consistently lower than for the sample, and Budget Committee men had either an equal or higher mean age than did the sample in each year. For the entire ten-year period, the mean age of Courses Committee members was significantly lower than for the sample (significant at the .05 level).

YEARS AT BERKELEY

The mean number of years at Berkeley of a representative sample was compared to the means for committee members and chairmen in each of three years within the sample period, 1957-58, 1963-64, and 1966-67, by use of t tests to see whether Senate committee members had been at Berkeley longer than the sample. The results were as clear as any uncovered in this study.

The mean number of years at Berkeley for committee members from the sciences was significantly greater than for the sample in each of the three years, although the level of significance changed from .05 in 1957-58 and 1963-64 to .10 in 1966-67. The mean number of years at Berkeley for the sample from the sciences was 17.0, 13.4, and 10.0 for the three respective years while the means for the committee members were 26.6, 19.7, and 15.0. The mean number of years at Berkeley for committee chairmen from the sciences was 27.8 in 1957-58, 23.5 in 1963-64 (significant at the .10 level), and 18.9 in 1966-67 (significant at the .05 level). The mean number of years of the 1957-58 sample from the social sciences was 14.6 and from environmental design was 6.3 while the committee members from these areas had mean numbers of years of 25.4 and 19.7, respectively (significant at .05 level). In 1963-64 the mean number of years was 11.6 for the school of engineering sample while the mean of the committee members was 18.1 (significant at .10 level).

The Budget Committee and the Committee on Academic Planning have also shown mean years at Berkeley significantly greater than for the sample (at the .10 and .05 levels, respectively). This comparison of the representative sample with individual committees showed that the members of the Budget Committee, the Committee on Committees, the Committee on Educational Policy, and the chairmen of selected committees consistently had spent more years at Berkeley than had the sample, but the relationships were usually not statistically significant. Until

1966-67, the Courses Committee had a lower mean at Berkeley than did the sample in that year. The mean number of years at Berkeley for members of the Academic Planning and the Budget Committees and the chairmen of selected committees all were significantly greater than for the sample for the ten-year period.

Perhaps the most important relationship was uncovered when the total mean years at Berkeley for each sample was tested. These data reveal that committee members have consistently been at Berkeley longer than a representative sample. The mean number of years for the committee members (23.1) and chairmen (26.4) were greater than the sample mean in 1957-58 (15.7) and this was significant at the .01 level. The same relationship held in 1963-64 (17.5 years for committee members, 20 for chairmen, and 14.6 for the sample) except that the significance level dropped to .05. In 1966-67 only the mean number for committee members (14.2) was greater than the sample mean (12.1), and the significance level was .10. The mean number of years at Berkeley of the sample declined from 15.7 to 14.6 to 12.1 during the period, and the corresponding figures for committee members were 23.1, 17.5, and 14.2 years. These data show that the differences between the sample and committee members declined from 7.4 to 2.9 to 2.1 years in 1957-58, 1963-64, and 1966-67, respectively, but the committee members were still at Berkeley significantly longer than the sample.

The differences in the mean years at Berkeley between the

sample and the chairmen declined from 10.7 to 5.5 to 3.7 years in the three respective years. In 1966-67 the mean number of years at Berkeley for committee chairmen was no longer significantly different from that of the sample's.

Apparently, the number of years in residence at Berkeley was an important factor in appointment to a Senate committee or committee chairmanship but has become less so over the ten-year period.

COMMITTEE ACTIVITY

Gradations exist in the level of committee activity among committee members, and committee chairmen tend to have more committee experience than other committee members. The committee service record variable simply totals the number of Senate committees on which the individual served from 1957-58 to 1966-67. No distinction was made between standing and ad hoc committees. The chairmanship or vice chairmanship of the Senate was counted as a committee as were service as an assembly representative and as the faculty representative to the Associated Students. The Senate has a Committee on Honorary Degrees whose membership is confidential and is not, therefore, reported to the Division but which is included in the committee service record.

Sixty-seven percent of the representative sample served on no committees during the period while only 3 percent were on four or more committees. Of those faculty who served only as members of Senate committees during the period, 90 percent were on one or

two committees while 3 percent were on four or more committees. Of those who chaired a Senate committee, 64 percent were on only one or two committees while 19 percent had been on four or more committees.

Gradations in committee service, then, tended to conform to activity patterns in other organizations, as discussed in Chapter 1. About two-thirds of those eligible to serve on Senate committees did not do so, and, of those who did accept Senate committee appointments, 90 percent did so only once or twice during the period. About 35 percent of the chairmen had been on three or more committees compared to only 10 percent of committee members.

Of the 590 committee members and chairmen, only thirty-eight were on four or more committees during the period; twenty-six were chairmen, and twelve were members only. The twenty-six chairmen held a total of forty-two chairmanships during this period. Thirty-five of the thirty-eight individuals who were on four or more committees also held more than one committee assignment at a time.

Some of the committee activity of those thirty-eight people was clustered at certain times rather than spread out over the entire ten-year period. One man served on a special committee in 1960, later accepted an appointment to the Budget Committee and became its chairman. As a result of his chairmanship of the Budget Committee he became a member of the Special Committee on Budget Policy and the Chairman's Advisory Committee on Agenda. Three of his four

assignments were clustered together into a one-year period.

Another of this group of thirty-eight served on one special committee, the Library Committee, the Committee on Educational Policy, and the Committee on Prose Improvement all within a three-year period. From 1962-63 to 1966-67, this individual accepted no further Senate committee service.

In another case, committee service was spread out over a longer period. One professor served as chairman of the Budget Committee, the Committee on Committees, and the Committee on Educational Policy and as a result of this latter appointment he became also chairman of the American History and Institutions Committee. Such a record obviously indicates prolonged and substantial commitment to Senate activities.

ROTATION AMONG COMMITTEES

To discover the extent of rotation of members among the more important committees, six were selected for analysis--the Committee on Committees, the Committee on Educational Policy, the Committee on Academic Planning, the Budget Committee, the Senate Policy Committee, and the Committee on Courses. Six of the ten appointees to the Committee on Academic Planning were former members of the Budget Committee. The duties of the Planning Committee, namely review of budgets, required some budgetary experience, as will be explained in Chapter 5.

Five people had been on both the Budget Committee and the

Committee on Committees during this period. Three of the five were on the Committee on Committees after their Budget Committee terms. Of the five people who served on both committees, four also served as chairman of the Budget Committee.

Of the fifty-four different people who served on the Committee on Educational Policy, only four also served on the Budget Committee or the Committee on Committees, and only four persons who served on the Courses Committee also served on either the Committee on Educational Policy, the Committee on Committees, or the Budget Committee.

Of the twenty-two people appointed to the Senate Policy Committee, four were also on the Committee on Committees, four were on Educational Policy, one had been on the Budget Committee and one on the Courses Committee. That is, ten of twenty-two Senate Policy members were also on one of these other committees at some time during the ten-year period.

The connection between the Budget Committee and the Committee on Committees appeared to be relatively strong compared to the others but the amount of overlap did not appear to be overwhelming. There were only two people who had been on as many as three of these important committees during the ten-year period.

Publication Performance.

The mean publication scores (see Appendix) of the representative sample of faculty were compared to those of members

and to those of chairmen of Senate committees from 1957-58 to 1966-67 by means of t tests, to see whether committee members had a lower publication performance than others and whether the publication performance of chairmen was lower than others. The mean scores in thirteen out of eighteen categories were higher for the committee members than for the sample. The categories analyzed to obtain publication scores were more detailed than for most analyses, and included: chemistry, physics, other physical sciences, math sciences, other sciences, English, history, philosophy, other humanities, political science, sociology, psychology, other social sciences, foreign languages, agriculture, engineering, environmental design, business, other professional schools, and total. Only in psychology, other social sciences, foreign languages, and environmental design was the mean score of committee members lower than that of the sample. When committee chairmen were compared to the sample, only four areas had mean scores lower than the sample: other physical sciences, political science-sociology, foreign languages, and other professional schools.

Mean scores of the sample and those of the other two groups differed significantly in English and history. Mean scores of members (4.6) and chairmen (4.9) were significantly higher than the sample (2.0) in English at the .05 level. In history, scores of the committee members (4.9) and chairmen (4.5) were significantly higher than the sample (2.7) at .05 and .10 levels, respectively.

The "total" mean publication scores were also significantly

higher for members and chairmen at the .01 and .10 level, respectively, than for the sample. Probably it is unwise to place much emphasis on the "total" categories. The weighting procedure used to compile the score favored disciplines in which books rather than articles generally are published, for example, favoring the social scientist over the scientist. The total score may well be the result of disciplinary imbalance in the sample, committee members, or chairmen, and some of these imbalances are significant. The total mean scores emphasized the fairly consistent pattern outlined above, namely that those who served on committees usually had higher publication scores than others. Because this relationship was exactly opposite from the one hypothesized for the study, further analysis seemed appropriate.

The mean publication score of the representative sample was compared with the mean scores of those who served on one, two, three, four, or more Senate committees during the ten-year period. In the one-committee category, twelve of eighteen department or discipline areas had higher scores than the sample. In the two-committee category, twelve of eighteen had higher scores than the sample, while the ratio in the three-committee group was eleven out of fifteen (three areas had no members in this category). In the four-committee group, only eight of sixteen had higher scores than the sample and this represents a slight break in the otherwise consistent pattern.

Twelve statistically significant relationships were revealed in the analysis. Those in other sciences in the two-committee category had a higher score than the sample (.10 level). The English department showed higher scores for its committee members in the one-, two-, and three-committee categories (.10, .10, and .01, respectively) as did the history department (.05, .05, and .10, respectively). The school of agriculture three-committee group was higher than the sample (.10 level) as was the other professional school two-committee group (.05 level). Finally the total in the one-, two-, and three-committee groups were all higher than the sample (.05, .01, and .05 levels).

These data reveal that, contrary to what was expected, those who served on committees had higher mean publication scores and, in some areas, the differences were significant. Not one of the twelve statistically significant differences showed a lower score on committees or committee chairmen when compared to the sample.

SUMMARY

Certain departments and discipline areas were overrepresented on committees. The English department was significantly overrepresented in committee members and chairman groups while the chemistry and physics departments were significantly overrepresented in the committee chairman group. These three departments accounted for 29 percent of all committee chairmanships for the ten-year period but constituted only 7.4 percent of the sample.

Foreign languages and some professional schools were

underrepresented in the committee members and chairmen. Foreign languages had no chairmen of the selected committees and some professional schools had either no members or no chairmen of Senate committees chosen from their faculty.

An informal seniority system seemed to exist for some of the committees which were largely reserved for full professors. Other committees appeared to be comprised largely of assistant and associate professors. Some of the age data tended to confirm that certain committees were relatively senior committees (the Budget Committee) and others were relatively junior (the Courses Committee). Women were not much in evidence on any Senate committees.

Approximately 65 percent of those who accepted Senate committee assignments also accepted administrative positions. This does not necessarily mean that they all share administrative values but the implication is clearly there, if one accepts the Presthus view as discussed in Chapter 1. This should be tested further in other research.

In Chapter 1 a hierarchy of political involvement in the polity was explained. The history of Senate committee activity in the current chapter showed that approximately two-thirds of those eligible to serve on Senate committees did not do so. There appears to be a pattern of involvement in Senate affairs similar to the gladiator, spectator, and apathetic classifications in the polity. if committee activity is an accurate measure.

The most consistent differences in the data were that committee members and chairmen had been in residence at Berkeley longer and had higher publication scores than the sample. These two factors could be related in that to remain at Berkeley and be promoted, one must publish. (This report will discuss the publication ethic in a subsequent section on the Budget Committee.) It would seem that the process of being chosen to serve on Senate committees involves having been at Berkeley long enough to exhibit a degree of commitment to the institution and that such residence generally requires a degree of scholarly productivity. Publication performance begins to fall off only for those who have served on four or more committees, but this is not statistically significant when compared to the representative sample. These observations are based on group data and say little about individual performance. The data presented up to this point have been largely formal analyses. The following chapters will focus more on informal relationships.

CHAPTER IV

SENATE POLITICS: SOME INFORMAL ASPECTS

Many complex informal relationships permeate the operation of the Academic Senate at Berkeley. No strictly formal analysis would uncover them. This chapter will attempt to describe some of these relationships and then discuss how these impinge on and operate within two powerful Senate committees--the Committee on Committees and the Senate Policy Committee.

TOWN MEETINGS

The Senate is a town meeting form of government in that the entire membership is eligible to attend and vote at all meetings. This diffuses the responsibility of attendance at meetings so that it varies greatly and, as shown in Figure 1 in Chapter 2, some meetings lack a quorum of seventy-five members. There is a common belief, expressed by many interviewed during the course of this study, that, in the absence of crisis, any small group can succeed in blocking legislation at a Senate meeting. That is, the extent to which the general faculty is motivated to attend a regular meeting will sometimes determine the outcome of pending legislation. The belief is that the smaller the group in attendance at a meeting, the more likely a "conservative" outcome. Those few who attend Senate meetings regularly are not likely to favor extensive changes in the status quo.

Because attendance is sporadic, the campus has come to recognize that any resolution, piece of legislation, or other proposal passed by the Senate represents only those who attended the meeting. At Berkeley, no one group or person speaks for the Academic Senate.

Those with considerable experience in Senate affairs reported the existence of several informal and quasi-formal groups which influence the course of Senate votes by prior discussion and organization towards specified ends. Some groups are organized on an ad hoc and others on a continuing basis. For example, the Committee of Two Hundred was a group of "liberal" Senate members founded during the FSM but which continued to exercise organized influence on Senate affairs for some time afterwards. One member of the steering committee of the Committee of Two Hundred claimed that many of the resolutions passed by the Senate since FSM have been drafted by his group. He referred specifically to the strike resolution of 1966 calling for the creation of the Student-Faculty Governance Commission and the resolution protesting President Kerr's dismissal as examples.

The Berkeley Faculty Forum was the "moderates'" counter to the Committee of Two Hundred. It appears that the Forum is no longer active.

Some colleges and many departments have developed the practice of educating and informing their members about Senate affairs. In some cases this takes the form of pushing their faculty towards positions of prominence on Senate committees. In other cases

supplementary memos are circulated by an individual member of the department on a matter before the Senate. On some ad hoc issues extensive lobbying and phone calls are employed to persuade faculty members of the merits of a case and to ensure enough votes are in attendance to either defeat or pass the matter on the floor of the Senate. In the absence of a counter organization, such efforts are likely to be successful, especially if the matter is not very controversial.

In the spring of 1967, the Policy Committee carried out its promises to present legislation which would change the Senate's structure from that of a town meeting to a representative assembly of the Berkeley Division. The committee's argument in favor of the proposal was that only at four meetings in the decade had the attendance comprised a majority of members (University of California, May 16, 1967). Attendance averaged about 10 percent of the membership, and some meetings had to be adjourned for lack of a quorum. The proposal specified that each department would have a representative for each of fifteen Senate members and that the chairmen of all standing and special committees would also be members of the assembly. This would have created a body of approximately 140 to 150 regular members.

The proposal was submitted to the entire Senate membership in a mail ballot, and of 877 valid ballots, 534 voted in favor of the proposal (60.9%) and 343 against (University of California,

October 16, 1967). Since a two-thirds majority was necessary for passage, the proposal failed.

A divisional assembly at Berkeley is opposed by some interview respondents because they say it would strengthen the rule of "old Senate hands," it would make Senate meetings more bland, it would hamper the right of individual expression on matters before the Senate, and it would be a breach of the traditional Senate policy of not delegating authority to any one body or committee. Proponents claim that an assembly is necessary to ensure that actions by the Senate are representative of the views of the majority, instead of merely representative of whoever happens to be at the meeting. Debate in the Senate would be well informed and meaningful because those who are members would bear direct responsibility for their actions. In answering the traditional argument that the Senate should not delegate authority to any body, some proponents of the assembly state that a faculty member delegates his vote every time he fails to attend a Senate meeting. They argue that it is not reasonable to make the entire faculty responsible for the acts of a Senate which can be manipulated by a small minority at any given time. In short, these people want the faculty to develop a more responsible Senate which would be fairly consistent and representative and could be held accountable for its actions.

It seems clear that a majority of the Senate wants a representative body, and another proposal is now being considered

in various committees. However, these arguments are complicated by the power struggles between some of the factions on the campus.

PERSONALITIES

Personalities are another important aspect of Senate politics. As a result of positions expressed in previous meetings or in other public forums, an individual's reputation precedes him into a Senate meeting. Any proposal supported or attacked by a well-known faculty conservative or radical bears the stigma of his reputation. Some respondents expressed the belief that remarks on a proposal by certain individuals are likely to cost or gain votes for that proposal regardless of the substance of those remarks. It is difficult to ascertain the extent of this kind of influence in the Senate but several respondents confirmed it as fact.

In certain cases the debate on an issue has been organized by its proponents so that key people would present their viewpoint and most of the Senate would know how that set of interests or informal grouping stood on this issue. In these cases, lesser known proponents (or opponents) of the proposal are urged not to participate in the debate because the argument is better made in one or two detailed presentations by better known and more articulate spokesmen.

It would be a mistake, however, to convey the impression that the entire issue is decided by the personalities who speak for or against it. Nevertheless, the Senate has some members whose views

appear to be philosophically consistent, and many of their colleagues in the Senate know it. On close votes, such personality factors can and do make a difference.

OLD SENATE HANDS

Among the faculty members interviewed for this study, it was widely believed that the daily or regular affairs of the Senate are controlled by a group of "old Senate hands." In the absence of crisis, this group tends to dominate both the committee structure and general meetings of the Senate, not because of any attempt to exclude others, but due to their extensive involvement in the operational details and substantive issues with which the Senate deals. Few respondents claimed that the Senate was a closed society but many did believe the Senate to be an oligarchy composed of those interested in Senate affairs.

Some of these informal aspects of the Senate should be kept in mind when considering the following descriptions of the Committee on Committees and the Senate Policy Committee. In summary, the town meeting structure is susceptible to organized attempts to control the votes in a meeting. When important issues are being considered, political tactics to muster the votes and to prepare resolutions are employed. Over the years, the Senate has developed an awareness of its key personalities and its coterie of old Senate hands.

COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES (CC)

Formal Responsibilities

According to the Bylaws of the Berkeley Division, October 7, 1957, the Committee on Committees shall consist of the chancellor ex officio and eight members to be elected by the Division. The chancellor was removed from the committee on March 29, 1965, to "sharpen the distinction between Division committees appointed by the Committee on Committees and Administrative Committees appointed by the Chancellor /University of California, March 29, 1965a, p. 3/." It is now the duty of the committee to appoint the chairman and secretary of the Division, all members of standing and special committees; except where otherwise provided by legislation, the chairmen of most committees, and any special committees as directed by the Division. The committee was not given the task of appointing special committees until May 1, 1961. The committee also nominates members of the Division, when requested by the chancellor, for appointment to administrative committees.

Qualifications for Membership

The committee is the only one whose members are regularly elected by the Division at large. The Bylaws specify that the elections are to take place each fall, and the newly elected members take office in January. When resignations occur, they are filled by appointments made by the committee itself. The Bylaws also

instruct the committee in making such appointments to give consideration to those candidates in the last ballot who were not elected, but any Senate member is eligible for appointment.

In order to be nominated for election to the committee, a faculty member usually has to have been at Berkeley long enough to be acquainted with a wide number of prospective committee members. He will usually have had considerable experience in the Academic Senate and its committees and will be well known on the campus.

There are some informal attempts to make sure that the candidates come from as many different areas as possible. In other cases there is a conscious effort to make sure that a department or college has direct representation on the committee. Eight of the twelve Committee on Committees interviewees said they believed that, in their nomination and subsequent election, they were representing their colleagues in a particular school, college, or department. Two other respondents classified themselves as representatives of certain informal campus political or social groups. Some respondents pointed out that their department or college always tries to have one of its members on the Committee, in an attempt to have a direct voice in committee appointments.

On the other hand, one respondent vigorously stressed the fact that the acceptance of a nomination to the Committee on Committees was an individual, not a group decision. He acknowledged that a few departments may run candidates but believed this to be

the exception.

The nomination papers are circulated by the nominee's sponsor to obtain the five signatures necessary to complete the process. An attempt is made to get signatures from faculty members who represent widely divergent areas and viewpoints.

Since a majority of the votes cast is necessary for election, second ballots are frequently necessary. Some of the interview respondents questioned the value of second ballots because they felt that the losers eventually get appointed anyway. However, an analysis of the data revealed that of the 18 people from 1957 to 1967 who were defeated on the second ballot, seven were subsequently appointed and eleven were not. Six of the seven who did receive appointments were appointed in the three-year period from 1963-64 to 1965-66.

The Committee Appointment Function

Because the primary function of the Committee on Committees is to appoint the chairman and members of all standing committees of the Division, as well as any special committees, the 1966-67 members of the committee, and chairmen for the past five years, were asked to indicate the qualifications necessary for appointment to an Academic Senate committee. There were twelve respondents. Particular attention was given to the qualifications necessary for appointment to the Committee on Budget and Interdepartmental Relations, the Committee on Educational Policy, the Committee on Courses of Instruction,and the Senate Policy Committee.

After an analysis of these interview transcripts, the general qualifications for committee membership were summarized into four main categories: 1) interest, 2) personal qualities, 3) representativeness, and 4) ability. The following paragraphs explain the meaning of these categories with some references to their applicability to those committees not specifically included in the interview process. Later in this report the applicability of these categories is related to each of the other five committees which were selected for detailed analysis.

The category of interest includes the amount of time available for committee service as well as the individual's willingness to serve on a particular committee. The category also takes account of the sincere desire of an individual to make certain the work of a particular committee is performed well and that its purposes and goals are carried out. Interest is often judged by referring to a man's previous record in some relevant activity such as committee work or other service in behalf of academic interests. An example of the latter would be a faculty member who is a member of the board of directors of a local chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union and therefore receives an appointment to the Committee on Academic Freedom, or a former department chairman who is asked to serve on the committee which reviews departmental budgets.

Personal qualities, the second category, encompasses a wide variety of personality traits which the Committee on Committees

looks for in making appointments. The committee works within the constraints of the present or next year's membership of the committee in question. It is important that an individual be able to work compatibly with other people of differing viewpoints already on the committee. Many respondents referred to this compatibility element as a general concern for the group dynamics of committees. Other important assets for prospective committee members are objectivity, good judgment, discretion, competence, reliability, and a sense of responsibility.

Personal qualities is the most subjective of the categories which summarize the qualifications for appointment to a Senate committee. Those who serve on the Committee on Committees tend to rely heavily on their personal judgment of the individuals under consideration, especially when the important committees are appointed. This means that the appointing process often depends on the personal contacts of committee members.

Seven of the twenty respondents spoke of the almost absolute veto that each member of the committee has over any suggested appointee. One person referred to it as a blackball, another as senatorial courtesy, while others simply stated that any strong objection to an individual by a member of the committee was sufficient to deny the appointment. The seven respondents disagreed over the extent to which such personal privileges were used. Most respondents agreed that there were some flamboyant or controversial faculty on the

campus who could not get an appointment to any important Senate committee.

The third category, representativeness, may include the three general areas of academic department, academic rank, and political viewpoint. Some committees, such as the Graduate Council, are required to be representative of the major academic areas on the campus. Others make an attempt at providing some representation from the lower faculty ranks, while still other committees are balanced by political viewpoints. For example, younger faculty members will often receive appointments to the Undergraduate Scholarship Committee, the Prizes Committee, or the Committee on Elections. Political viewpoint on academically relevant areas, such as faculty autonomy, student power,or academic freedom, is important when considering appointments to the Senate Policy Committee and occasionally the Committee on Academic Freedom.

The final category, ability, means competence but also may include the important area of experience relevant to committee service. Ability is defined differently depending on the needs of the committee in question. The Budget Committee requires a high degree of demonstrated academic ability and superior research productivity and scholarship, as will be explained in more detail later in the analysis. Other factors important to the general category of ability include seniority and experience. Appointment to some of the more important committees virtually requires previous exposure to committee work

and a knowledge of the University at Berkeley. In effect, the appointee's ability will usually have been demonstrated through some prior relevant experiences.

Internal Organization of the Committee on Committees

The specific details of internal committee organization differ, depending on the chairman. However, the chairman usually assigns responsibilities, after some discussion, to each committee member or pair of members. Normally, the chairman assigns each Senate committee to a member of the Committee on Committees, and this person is responsible for maintaining liaison with that committee. Each individual is supposed to be aware of the current activities and problems of the committees for which he is responsible.

In practice, this liaison is accomplished through informal discussion between the Committee on Committees member and the chairman of a given committee rather than attendance at committee meetings. In many cases the Committee on Committees representative is a former member of some of the committees for which he has liaison responsibility. This is particularly true of the individual who is responsible for the Budget and Senate Policy Committees.

Among the Committee on Committees members themselves, the interviews revealed differences on what might loosely be called a philosophy of appointments. Some members of the committee feel that each major appointment must be personally known to at least one member of the Committee on Committees. Major appointments would include

those made to the Budget and Senate Policy Committees but may also include the Committees on Educational Policy and Academic Freedom, as well as certain other committees.

Other members of the committee favor a higher degree of risk taking in making appointments. They feel that it is not necessary to be acquainted with all major appointees, although the Budget Committee may constitute a realistic exception. Proponents of the risk-taking view would like to see more young, dynamic, change-oriented appointments to Senate committees. They argue that the Senate can afford some "bad" appointments in order to enhance its own viability and openness to change.

These philosophies of appointments will vary from year to year but, according to some respondents, it was the main reason that the 1968-69 appointment list was delayed. The committee that year was characterized as a non-risk-oriented group.

Reported Activities

The Committee on Committees reports regularly and often to the Division. Each spring the committee issues a report which lists the membership of each of the Division's standing and special committees for the following academic year. Often, supplementary appointments are noted for the information of the Division because they report a situation already in existence. That is, when a member of a committee resigns, another member is appointed by the Committee on Committees and the Division is not informed of this until the next regular

Senate meeting.

The number of supplementary appointments has been considerable over the years because of the fact that the Committee on Committees does not consult with each individual in advance as to whether or not he is willing to serve on a committee.

The Committee on Committees has gone beyond the function of merely appointing committees. It has suggested the appointment of a special commiteee, instituted a questionnaire designed to broaden the base of committee service, and recommended the abolition of some committees. Each of these items was duly reported.

On May 3, 1963, the committee moved that it be allowed to appoint a special Committee on Reorganization of the Berkeley Division. This was to allow the Division to catch up with some of the requirements generated by the statewide reorganization.

On January 12, 1965, the committee circulated in the Notice to Meetings a questionnaire asking the members of the Division to volunteer for committee service, checking those standing committees on which they were willing to serve. This same report to the Division included a reproduction of the "Statement of Faculty Participation in University Government: The Role of the Academic Senate." This statement discusses the legal base for the university and the delegation of the public trust from the Regents down to the Academic Senate.

In the course of the interviews, a copy of the 1967-68

questionnaire returns was obtained. Of approximately 1700 questionnaires, only 417 were returned, and, of these, only 299 faculty indicated a willingness to serve on at least one committee. Ninety-eight of the respondents checked only one committee, while 107 volunteered for two or three committees. The Committee on Educational Policy, the Graduate Council, and the Committee on Research each received 100 or more volunteers. Other popular committees included the Academic Freedom Committee, the Committee on Courses, and the Library Committee.

Among the broad range of interviews conducted for the study, there was some concern expressed that the committee should not limit itself to the results of this questionnaire. Certain respondents were careful to point out that the viability and legitimacy of the Senate depends, to a large degree, on the job the Committee on Committees does in appointing committees. They stressed the need for the committee to get out and persuade faculty members to serve on committees, pointing out that many faculty, while they may not volunteer for service and may not be personally acquainted with committee members, could be persuaded to accept a committee assignment. According to these respondents, the committee should take a more active role in recruiting faculty into the system.

Members of the Committee on Committees reported that the questionnaire was not binding on them and has been only one source of appointments. Other sources which have been used include letters

and phone calls to department chairmen, consultation with present committee members, and informal discussion with Budget Committee members, who review the papers of many promising faculty during the personnel process.

The criticism that the Committee on Committees does not attempt to actively recruit prospective members, while apparently true, should be balanced against the time available for such activities. The committee meets weekly when appointments are being considered and in recent years has had trouble finishing its work on time. Perhaps the committee should adopt the risk-taking approach to appointments which some have advocated.

The American History and Institutions Committee had not been very active,and the Committee on Committees recommended that its membership be appointed from the membership of the Committee on Educational Policy. Such action had already been taken and the Division was informed that the Committee on Committees intended to introduce legislation abolishing the American History and Institutions Committee (University of California, May 10, 1965a). This was done in October of 1965. In 1966 the committee also introduced legislation to abolish the Committee on Membership.

THE SENATE POLICY COMMITTEE

In contrast to the Committee on Committees, the Senate Policy Committee is appointed. However, its involvement in the politics of the Senate is just as great.

Formal Responsibilities

The Policy Committee was created on a recommendation by the Special Committee of Seven presented to the Division on March 29, 1965. The legislation creating the Policy Committee was passed by the Division on April 5, 1965.

According to the Bylaws, the committee has seven members, at least one of whom is a divisional representative to the Statewide Assembly. The duties of the Policy Committee are specified in the Bylaws as follows:

> 1) To present to the Division, at a meeting in March, its State of the Campus message concerning academic issues on which the Division needs to develop policy. The text of the message is to be sent to each member of the Division at least five days prior to the meeting.
>
> 2) To work with the chairman of the Division in developing an agenda for meetings.
>
> 3) To collaborate with committees of the Division presenting major issues for consideration by the Division, as well as raising issues on its own initiative.
>
> 4) To refer any communications placed in its hands and problems which come to its attention to the appropriate committees of the Division.
>
> 5) To be responsible, with the secretary and the chairman of the Division, for communication to the public of information on the programs and policies on which the Division has taken positions /University of California, November 8, 1966a, p. 7/.

The State of the Campus message referred to earlier is either accepted or rejected by a majority of those voting at a

regular divisional meeting. If the message is accepted, the committee's membership is deemed to have been confirmed by the Division and the committee is then supposed to work toward the ends cited in the message. Should the message not be confirmed by the Division, the previous committee would continue until a new one was confirmed by the Division. In practice, the Division has accepted each message to date.

During the discussion of the resolution to pass legislation creating the Policy Committee, an amendment was proposed which would have given the committee power to convene the Division when it deemed necessary and to act for the Division in emergencies until the Division could be convened. This motion was, in effect, designed to make the Policy Committee an executive committee, but it lost on a vote of 125 to 115 (University of California, April 5, 1965).

Qualifications for Membership

The prime qualification for appointment to the Senate Policy Committee is one's political views (that is, position on relevant campus issues), according to eight Committee on Committee respondents. This committee must be balanced by political views so that as many campus factions as possible are represented. The measure of a candidate's fitness for this committee is conspicuous campus political activism, sensitivity to campus factions, and knowledge of the way the Senate works.

Some appointments to the committee are based on previous experience or special expertise in a matter with which the committee is about to deal. One professor said he was appointed because he had been an articulate member of the Special Committee of Seven (Hart Committee) which recommended the creation of the Senate Policy Committee. His subsequent appointment could be directly traced, in his opinion, to the viewpoints that he expressed on that committee. Another professor speculated that he was appointed because his specialty was organization theory, and the committee was about to deal with the issue of Senate reorganization. Two of the seven interviewees on the Policy Committee said that their selection was due to their conspicuous political position on the campus.

One member of the Committee on Committees said that the Policy Committee ought to reflect the will of the faculty as expressed in the Committee on Committee elections in the fall quarter. The Policy Committee is appointed in January, and this respondent thought that the new Committee on Committees would be receptive to the "conservative" or "liberal" mood of the faculty.

Reported Activities

Of the six reports issued by the Senate Policy Committee during the two years of its existence, three were State of the Campus messages. Actually, the first State of the Campus message issued was on October 11, 1965, and the second one on April 4, 1966.

The first message discussed alternate models of university

governance and recommended that the long term policy for the Division be directed toward establishing a governance system in which the chancellor and the Senate would have defined and distinct areas of primary responsibility. The Policy Committee also recommended that the Division authorize the committee to appoint a special subcommittee on Senate government and to undertake a thorough study of the existing system of Senate government in the University at Berkeley. The report suggested guidelines for such a study in an appendix.

Another major section of the report was devoted to topics of educational policy such as educational innovation, the problem of severe cuts in the number of teaching assistants and in the waiver of fees for nonresidents (relating to the University at Berkeley), and problems of converting to the quarter system and year-round operation. The report also deals with the matter of academic freedom and calls to the Division's attention progress made on a controversial personnel case.

Some of the report's four appendices had important implications for the existence of the Policy Committee. The first appendix dealt with the duties and procedures of the Policy Committee and pointed out that the main function of the committee is to perform a clarifying, crystallizing, and recommending role in relation to the full membership of the Division and its committees. It is not, and should not consider itself to be, an executive committee.

Appendix B proposed detailed guidelines for a study of Senate Government at Berkeley. It specifically directed attention to the question of the need for a universitywide Academic Senate. The thread of autonomy ran throughout the entire report. The phrase "the university at Berkeley" was used repeatedly by those who wrote the report, indicating that one of the central problems of a university is the question of campus autonomy. The report took a very strong position in favor of campus autonomy or "home rule."

Appendix C of the report was devoted to a resume of the Byrne Report's recommendations. These are summarized into four general recommendations as follows:

> 1. That the Regents separately charter each campus as an autonomous university under their jurisdiction; 2. That the Regents and President undertake complete revision of the form and substance of all existing documents of governance of the university; 3. That the office of the President be constituted to give leadership to the entire university system; and 4. That the Regents reformulate their role in the government of the university [University of California, October 11, 1965a, p. 20].

Appendix D summarized other important issues facing the Senate and the University at Berkeley. These included the administrative Committee on the Academic Plan, a Senate policy on the physical environment of the campus, a Senate policy on the limitation of student enrollment and campus size, and finally a divisional policy on matters of departmental government.

The report of April 4, 1966, brought the Division up to

date on progress made on the problems of autonomy and other problems mentioned in the earlier State of the Campus message. This report concluded with the statement that if the Policy Committee is confirmed by the Division, it will regard its principal task as the final preparation for presentation to the Division of a Senate reorganization plan together with a set of policies concerning the optimum extent and form of campus autonomy.

In an atmosphere of crisis at the University and in the state, the State of the Campus message of March 7, 1967, abruptly departed from the issues of governance reported in the earlier two State of the Campus messages. President Clark Kerr was fired by the Board of Regents in January of 1967, immediately after a Republican administration took office in Sacramento. The tension was also heightened with announced cuts in the University budget and a tuition proposal for the next fiscal year. The Senate Policy Committee's message dealt with these issues rather than the ones raised in the earlier reports.

In response to a student strike in December of 1966, the Policy Committee was charged by the Division to "explore new avenues for increasing student participation in making and enforcing of campus rules and to report to the Division. Further, we call for the creation of a faculty-student commission to consider new modes of governance and self-regulation appropriate to modern American universities [University of California, December 5, 1966b, pp. 1-2]."

Before the January 10 and January 17, 1967, meetings of the Division, the Senate Policy Committee issued a report which was not published in the Notice to Meetings and which recommended the creation of a student-faculty commission on university governance. As amended, the report contained resolutions on the specific charge to the committee. The Commission on Governance was to include six members of the Senate, one of whom was to serve as co-chairman, and six student members, one of whom was to be co-chairman. This recommendation was made after consultation with the Division's Committee on Student Affairs. The Commission was created as the Policy Committee envisioned it.

Informal Activities

The Policy Committee has come to occupy an increasingly important role in Senate and campus affairs. It was created in order to improve ways in which the Senate could anticipate conflict. Some of its early proponents wanted to identify the varying groups on the campus who were participating in political rivalries and bring this conflict from covert to open discussion. For example, one chairman of the Policy Committee reported that he tried to organize the committee's work around its "natural" factions. One member of the committee charged that this internal organization was effective in isolating the two "liberal" members of the committee by giving them the trivia and saving the more important tasks for the "moderates."

The Policy Committee has come to play an important role

in this informal communication network on the campus, especially in times of crisis. During the student strike of 1966, the chairman of the committee met with the chairman of the Committee on Educational Policy to work out a resolution for presentation to the Senate. The respondents said the Policy Committee chairman took the initiative in this matter but that, because he was chairman, he was a natural focal point for much of the discussion about ways to resolve the strike. For example, the chairman had a meeting at his home, bringing together some of the student leaders of the strike, and he also met with former members of the Committee of Two Hundred. The resolution which the Division eventually adopted was forged from these discussions.

The Policy Committee also consulted widely among students, faculty, and administrators about the composition of the Study Commission on University Governance. The committee eventually succeeded in creating a commission which had no administrative representation on it. While the committee never succeeded in getting administrative approval of this arrangement, it did lessen the amount of debate over this matter on the floor of the Senate.

SUMMARY

The chapter began with a description of some background of informal but commonly acknowledged practices in the operation of the Academic Senate. The weakness of the town meeting structure is that, in the absence of a crisis, the work of the Senate is performed by

a relatively small group. Some formal and informal groups do consider Senate activities important enough to contest by lobbying and organized attempts to gain representation on important Senate committees. Debate in the Senate is often organized in advance of the meetings, and certain persons' views are likely to be well known to regular Senate attenders in advance of any comments made in the meeting.

Both the Committee on Committees and the Senate Policy Committee are integral parts of the political network surrounding the operation of the Senate. The former committee's importance stems from the fact that it is so crucial to the committee appointment process and that it is the only elected Senate committee. The latter committee's importance stems partially from its role as a vehicle through which various political factions can express their views.

Although it is a difficult judgment to prove empirically, those with conservative or moderate views on campus affairs (there are only a few identifiable right wingers at Berkeley) seem to represent the majority in elections, the appointment process, and the Policy Committee. In times of crisis, or when certain constituent interests are aroused, the attendance at Senate meetings increases. Increased attendance is often stimulated by special interests, and the selective increase in attendance by members of those groups tends to threaten control of that issue by the numerical majority of the entire faculty. Proposals to modify the Senate's town meeting structure are compli-

cated by these political realities.

It would be a mistake, however, to explain the differences of opinion over Senate structure solely by reference to majority-minority power struggles. According to some respondents, the majority of the Senate voted in favor of the creation of a representative body because many also thought the current Senate to be inefficient. These respondents stressed that Senate meetings were often three hours long, regular attendance was sparse,and debate was at best bland and at worst uninformed. They believed that a representative body would assign committee and other responsibilities to elected leaders, thus freeing most faculty members from the duty of Senate attendance while assuring protection of their Senate interests.

Others argued that it would be unwise to overlook the fact that a representative body would perpetuate control of the Senate by the moderate-conservative majority who now tend to dominate the Senate's committee structure. Many of these same respondents also wanted to protect their individual right to dissent and/or speak out on any issue. They also did not want to see the moderates strengthen their position at the expense of those with more liberal views.

Finally, the political relationships in the Senate, as described above, can change almost overnight. In January 1968, just prior to the time these interviews were conducted, the nominations of the Committee on Committees to the Senate Policy Committee underwent an unprecedented challenge from the floor of the Senate

and were sent back to committee. The grounds for the challenge were: 1) the appointments were made by the 1966-67 Committee but should have been made by the 1967-68 group; 2) one of the appointees, a noted campus liberal, was also on the Governance Commission, and the commission's report was going to be considered by the Policy Committee (this, according to statements made on the Senate floor, constituted a conflict of interests); 3) the new Policy Committee chairman, another noted campus liberal, was also on the Committee on Committees and he ought not to have been on both committees at once.

Informal discussion with Senate members revealed that the "real" source of concern was that if the appointments were not changed, the liberal-radical minority would have gained four of the seven seats on the committee. It was pointed out that the new Policy Committee had already met once before this fact became clear to the moderates. One of the new appointees, not mentioned in debate, whose views were not widely known, turned out to be of liberal-radical persuasion.

When the new Policy Committee membership was finally made known, a new chairman had been appointed, one of the liberal-radicals had been dropped, and another had resigned.

It is difficult to assess exactly what would have happened if the appointments had not been sent back to committee but it is probable that the subsequent State of the Campus message would have been a more militant document than it was. The Division could have

refused to confirm the document and thereby dismissed the committee. According to the Bylaws, if the Division does not confirm the committee's message, the committee is dissolved, another one is appointed, and it has to present its message within eight weeks (University of California, November 8, 1966b). Another possibility is that the majority would set up informal auxiliary mechanisms to work around the Policy Committee and thereby lessen its influence. What is more certain is that the relationships between the Policy Committee and its constituent body, the Academic Senate, would have changed considerably and this study would have been out of date before it was written.

CHAPTER V

FOUR SENATE COMMITTEES

This chapter describes the formal and informal operation of four important Senate committees: the Budget Committee, the Committee on Academic Planning, the Committee on Educational Policy, and the Committee or Courses of Instruction. The purposes of the chapter are both descriptive and analytic. Where significant developments occur, they are discussed.

THE COMMITTEE ON BUDGET AND INTERDEPARTMENTAL RELATIONS (THE BUDGET COMMITTEE)

The Berkeley Budget Committee is a direct successor to the Northern Section Budget Committee and was formed in 1957. At that time it consisted of five members but its size was increased to six in 1964 and to seven in 1966 (University of California, November 8, 1966c).

Formal Responsibilities

According to the Bylaws (November 8, 1966a), the committee

> ...confers with the Chancellor concerning the Divisional budget. It represents the Division in all matters relating to appointments and promotions and makes recommendations to the Chancellor on appointments, promotions, salaries, equipment and related matters... [p. 4].

Qualifications for Membership

The relative importance of the four general qualifications for Budget Committee service--rank, scholarship, and experience; personality characteristics; representativeness and interest--is reflected in the order listed although personality characteristics and representativeness may be interchangeable in importance. The first step is to consider full professors in the upper levels who are good or superior research scholars. Secondly, the personal qualities of these people must be considered together with the requirement that the committee cover all the academic disciplines. Finally, a faculty member must be willing to serve or be convinced that service is important. Although it was not mentioned by the Committee on Committees respondents, the data presented in Chapter 3 revealed that professional school representation on the Budget Committee was limited to the colleges of agriculture and engineering, and the school of business administration.

According to the Committee on Committees, appointments to the Budget Committee must be made from the upper professorial ranks. It is the practice that a faculty member not sit in review of the qualifications of a colleague who is superior in rank to himself. Also, customarily no member of the Budget Committee receives a salary increment during his tenure on the committee. Such requirements represent an attempt to find people of national reputation whose research productivity and scholarship is beyond question.

To these two requirements, professorial rank and superior productivity and scholarship, are usually added some experience in and/or knowledge of the Berkeley campus and its personnel practices. Such experience may be gained by assuming responsibilities for personnel or fiscal matters, as in service on review committees or other relevant committee service.

The specific responses of some Budget Committee members to the question of how they were chosen to serve illustrate the various activities which are used as indicators of knowledge of Berkeley and campus personnel practices. Two chairmen and a regular member of the committee previously had served on the Committee on Committees. Two other members had chaired other Senate committees, and one of these men had been chairman of the faculty of his college and therefore an ex officio member of many other committees on the campus. Another respondent said that he had the choice of accepting the chairmanship of his department or a seat on the Budget Committee and he chose the lesser of these two "evils." It should be noted that four out of nine people interviewed said that they did not know and refused to speculate on how they were chosen to serve. Two others prefaced their remarks with the qualifier,"I do not know but I think. . . ."

Two members of the Committee on Committees said they thought that those faculty under consideration for the Budget Committee ought to have exhibited some administrative tendencies. Probes about what constituted administrative tendencies were answered by reference to

the subsequent administrative records of past Budget Committee appointees. One respondent was careful to point out that although administrative tendencies was a general criterion for appointment to the Budget Committee, 90 percent of the faculty were unaware of that fact.

Certain personality characteristics constitute another qualification for a prospective Budget Committee appointment: a sense of responsibility, personal discretion, objectivity, statesmanship or the ability to judge men, and willingness to serve. While there are few absolute measures of these qualities, some "typical" indices were identified. For example, a man's sense of responsibility is judged, for example, by whether or not he has done his homework on other Senate committees or on previous ad hoc review committees. His personal discretion in handling matters of secrecy might also be judged by service on review committees.

Budget Committee appointments represent all the disciplines on campus. Each member of the committee is responsible for specified departments based on an FTE allocation. Maximum flexibility is important in order to make use of the individual interests and abilities of each member. For example, a sociologist on the committee might well be competent in three or four foreign languages and therefore be responsible for evaluating the personnel of these departments. One respondent mentioned a physicist who was also a performing musician and a biologist with a long-time interest in

athletics as examples of the use of individual interests. Thus new appointments to the Budget Committee must take into account those areas being vacated by the outgoing members.

The Budget Committee is one of the most time-consuming committee assignments a faculty member will ever be asked to accept, and interest or willingness to serve is an important qualification. A committee member must be willing to devote approximately twenty hours per week to this activity. Some faculty who might otherwise be eligible just cannot or will not devote this much time to any committee assignment. Others consider the subject matter with which this committee deals to be of little personal interest and refuse to serve for this reason.

Reported Activities

Academic Personnel. The committee's most important and time-consuming duty is the review of nominations for faculty appointments, promotions, and merit increases. It also reviews and appraises the qualifications of those academic appointees who do not secure tenure, such as lecturers, researchers, and agricultural specialists.

The committee has stressed the fact that it serves not as a decision-making body but rather as a fact-gathering and review board (University of California, October 14, 1958). It only makes recommendations and gives advice to the president through the vice chancellor for academic affairs.

In fact, however, the committee's recommendations on

personnel matters are followed by the administration in the large majority of cases. Responding to a Senate motion (University of California, December 9, 1963), which is informally known as the "Krech" Index, the Budget Committee has included since then in its annual reports information on the extent to which its personnel recommendations are accepted by the administration. While the base on which these figures rests is often not comparable from year to year, the data do reveal a remarkable degree of acceptance of committee recommendations by the administration. Of the 132 tenure cases in 1962-63 (University of California, March 10, 1964), the committee's advice was followed in 124 cases (94 percent). During 1963-64, 156 of 158 review committee cases received approval from the administration (University of California, October 13, 1964). When all the 750 appointment, promotion, retention, and merit increase cases were considered for 1965-66, the Budget Committee's advice was followed in 721 cases (96 percent) (University of California, October 17, 1966). Perhaps the most complete detail on the Committee's influence on these matters is supplied in the 1966-67 report (University of California, October 16, 1967): all 34 tenure recommendations were approved, one at a higher step; all 85 nontenure professional appointment recommendations were accepted; of the 144 recommendations for promotions to associate or full professor, 141 were approved, two were denied, and one was promoted against the committee's recommendation; there were only four reversals out of 375 recommen-

dations for merit increases. In summary, of 638 cases in 1966-67, 631 were approved, or a remarkable 98.9 percent.

It should be pointed out that an important organizational revision took place in February 1966 when the statewide University delegated to the separate chancellors the authority to make tenure appointments and promotions (University of California, October 17, 1966). Decisions on above-scale salaries continued to be decided in the president's office, and the Budget Committee reported that its recommendations have been less effective in these cases (University of California, October 16, 1967).

In the 1966-67 report the committee also announced the procedures which the administration agreed to follow in cases where reversals of Budget Committee recommendations were being considered. This is a list of six detailed steps to be followed by the administration in reversal cases and provide ample opportunity for the committee to argue its own views.

The Budget Committee's annual reports usually include detailed data on the number and kinds of cases handled during the academic year. These data are combined into Tables 4, 5, 6, and 7.

Table 4 shows the number of cases reviewed by the Committee for each of the years from 1957-58 to 1966-67 and provides a breakdown by category. Appointments are those cases in which a new member is appointed to the faculty. The appointment may involve tenure but usually constitutes at least a first step on the ladder to a

possible tenure appointment. Appraisals are those appointments and promotions which are not in the tenure ranks. Promotions are those cases in which an increase from one level of the professorial scale to another is involved, from assistant to associate professor, for example, and merit increases are within-rank promotions, such as from professor, step I, to step II.

TABLE 4

Appointments, Appraisals, Promotions and Merit Increases Reviewed by Budget Committee

Academic year	Appointments	Appraisals	Promotions	Total	Merit increases	Total cases reviewed
1957-58	86	40	139	265		
1958-59	49	23	152	224		
1959-60	78	33	199	310		
1960-61	62	20	158	240		
1961-62	77	52	211	340	383	723
1962-63	106	70	186	362	450	812
1963-64	117	78	182	362	464	841
1964-65	135	70	*(204)243	*(409)448	473	921
1965-66	155	83	(233)259	(471)497	467	962
1966-67	145	73	(252)260	(470)478	480	958

*Includes promotions to special salaries for the first time. Comparable figures are in parentheses.

Source: University of California, Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate. Notice to meetings, 1957-1967.

As shown in Table 4 the committee did not begin reporting on merit increases until 1961-62 and on promotions to special salaries until 1964-65. As one would expect in a growing university,

the number of cases and, hence, the committee's workload in each category has increased substantially over the ten-year period.

The practice of using ad hoc review committees is the central factor around which the data in Tables 5, 6, and 7 are organized. These review committees are the fact-finding and evaluating groups interposed between departmental personnel committees and the Senate's Budget Committee. Review committees are normally appointed in all cases involving tenure decisions; in most cases of promotions from associate to full professor; in some, but not most, assistant professor appointments; and in some appraisal cases. Some of these review committees have five members; others have only three. The Budget Committee recommends the membership of each committee to the academic vice chancellor who makes the final appointments. The membership of the review committee is not known to the department chairman or the candidate.

The percentage of faculty who served on one or two of these review committees relative to the total faculty serving are given in Table 8 for the ten-year period. The range during the first four years is from 58 percent to 68 percent while the range for the last four years is from 82 percent to 87 percent.

Data from these tables reveal that as the campus grew and the personnel case load increased, the review committee function was increasingly consolidated within the Budget Committee. The committee reported that this is especially true in the case of appointments to

TABLE 5

Faculty Participation in Ad Hoc Review Committees

Academic year	Number of cases having ad hoc committees	Number of ad hoc faculty committees	Number of different faculty members serving on ad hoc committees
1957-58	247	247	497
1958-59	224	205	492
1959-60	271	240	502
1960-61	240	217	530
1961-62	249	238	554
1962-63	199	190	476
1963-64	170	161	470
1964-65	n.a.*	159	454
1965-66	n.a.	168	470
1966-67	n.a.	190	489

*n.a. = not applicable

Source: University of California. Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate. Notice to meetings, 1957-1967.

TABLE 6

Number of Cases for which Budget Committee Acted Also as Review Committee

Academic year	Appointments	Appraisals	Promotions	Total
1957-58	-	-	4	-
1958-59	8	6	4	18
1959-60	4	22	6	32
1960-61	10	10	10	30
1961-62	22	23	33	78
1962-63	63	51	46	160
1963-64	76	63	53	192
1964-65	94	63	117	274
1965-66	124	81	121	326
1966-67	105	50	103	258

Source: University of California, Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate. Notice to meetings, 1957-1967.

TABLE 7

Distribution of Participation in Review Committees

by Senate Members

Academic year	Total faculty partici-pating	1 Com.	2 Com.	3 Com.	4 Com.	5 Com.	More than 5 Com.
1957-58	497	202	106	84	72	28	5
1958-59	492	204	134	82	42	16	14
1959-60	502	164	134	109	50	35	10
1960-61	530	258	150	70	35	11	6
1961-62	554	247	176	97	27	7	0
1962-63	476	229	141	75	28	2	1
1963-64	470	264	120	67	11	8	0
1964-65	454	247	131	57	14	4	1
1965-66	470	256	151	53	10	0	0
1966-67	489	252	151	69	16	1	0

Source: University of California, Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate. Notice to meetings, 1957-1967.

TABLE 8

Percentage of Faculty Serving on only One or Two

Ad Hoc Committees Relative to the Entire Number

Serving on Any Ad Hoc Committee

Year	Percent	Year	Percent
1957-58	62.0	1962-63	77.7
1958-59	68.5	1963-64	81.7
1959-60	59.5	1964-65	83.3
1960-61	58.1	1965-66	86.6
1961-62	76.4	1966-67	82.4

the assistant professor, steps I and II categories (University of California, October 7, 1966).

The number of different faculty serving on these review committees (column 3, Table 5) compared to the total Senate membership has declined. For example, of approximately 1085 Senate members in 1957-58, there were 497 different faculty on review committees, or 46 percent of the faculty; in 1963-64 Senate membership was 1376, and review committee membership was composed of 470 different faculty, or 34 percent of the faculty; in 1966-67, Senate membership was 1568, and review committees had 489 different members, or 31 percent.

The Budget Committee's reports suggests an even greater degree of concentration than is revealed in the foregoing information. Assistant professors almost never have an opportunity to be on a review committee because the Budget Committee acts as a review committee for most nontenure appointments, and assistant professors are ineligible to serve on appointments and promotions involving tenure (University of California, October 11, 1965a). When the Budget Committee refers to recruiting younger faculty to serve on review committees, it is subject to this restraint on assistant professors (University of California, November 20, 1962).

During the sample period the Budget Committee has included in its reports substantive policy statements on its interpretation of many of the criteria for appointments to and promotions of the faculty at Berkeley. For example, the 1957-58 annual report presented

brief statements on the confidentiality of the review process, criteria for initial appointment, evaluation of scholarship and creativity, and the recognition of distinction in teaching (University of California, October 14, 1958). The 1960-61 report expressed concern about the high percentage of full professors relative to instructors on the campus (University of California, October 9, 1961), and the 1962-63 report provided a breakdown of similar information by tenure-nontenure ranks. The Budget Committee also advised the Division on Berkeley's declining competitive position relative to other universities seeking to retain prominent and recruit new faculty (University of California, October 11, 1965a).

The 1965-66 report provided a detailed statement on the evaluation of teaching (University of California, October 17, 1966). During the year the committee consulted with the Special Select Committee on Education about this topic. The Universitywide Budget Committee also provided an opportunity for exchange between divisional Budget Committees. The report included a summary of basic guidelines found in the Faculty Handbook and the Administrative Manual as well as a discussion of the pros and cons of suggestions considered by the Select Committee, specifically the inclusion of statements of teaching philosophies in individuals' vita. The Budget Committee issued its own recommendation on this together with a statement of reasons for opposing it.

The 1965-66 report also summarized committee actions and

policy on joint appointments, the status of acting associate professors, the use of the lecturers' title,and the length of terms for departmental chairmen. Finally, the 1966-67 committee reported on seven recommendations on personnel policies that it either initiated or supported (University of California, October 16, 1967). The issues involved departmental recommendations on professorial appointments, administrative stipends and sabbaticals, and selection committees for deans.

Advice to the Administration and the Senate. Another principal activity of the Budget Committee is to react to requests for advice from the chancellor, the statewide administration, and the Senate. The first two reports (1957-58 and 58-59) merely mentioned that the committee performed this function while the 1959-60 report said nothing about it. In 1960-61 the reports began to provide more detail about the issues on which the committee advised the administration. Their recommendations dealt with personnel policies, such as administrative stipends and salaries for part-time research appointees, and other matters such as operation of the Computer Center and the Space Sciences Laboratory. The Committee also advised the administration about the creation of new academic departments and reorganization of existing units, the conversion to the quarter system, and seminars for state legislators (University of California, October 9, 1961). Perhaps the most comprehensive list of such recommendations appeared in the 1962-63 report. The 1965-66 and

1966-67 reports made little reference to this function.

Occasionally, the Senate itself charged the committee to perform certain fact-gathering or informational tasks. The annual reports described progress on recognition of distinction in teaching until that program was transferred to the administration in January 1961. On November 20, 1962, the committee was charged by the Division to consult with the Committee on Educational Policy in regard to year-round operations. The result was a joint report issued on March 26, 1963. In 1966 the Berkeley Budget Committee issued recommendations to the Division on changes in the professional scale which were being considered by the Universitywide Budget Committee (University of California, March 22, 1966). Other issues on which the committee made special or ad hoc reports to the Division included the following: 1) Senate Bylaw 188 regarding departmental consultation procedures for new appointments (University of California, December 5, 1966) and 2) the specific inclusion of teaching evidence guidelines in the Guide for Academic Personnel Recommendations together with a list of ten teaching qualities and ten kinds of evidence on teaching which reviewers found useful (University of California, April 10, 1966; May 16, 1967).

Budgetary Review. Reviews of departmental budgets were not the subject of extensive reporting during the first three years of this period. Reports usually noted that this function was performed by the committee and occasionally complained about budgetary stringency.

The 1960-61 report announced the adoption of important changes in budget review procedures designed "to ensure the utmost participation by department chairmen, deans, directors and other senior administrative officers in the disposition of available funds [University of California, October 9, 1961, p. 11]." The Budget Committee had "limited" time to participate in budgetary review in 1960-61, due to the protraction of negotiations with the state. The report gave a detailed eight-step summary of the University's budget cycle and stressed that these new procedures freed the committee from much time-consuming statistical work but continued to provide the committee with an important advisory role in the broad aspects of budgetary planning.

The 1961-62 report reiterated the committee's broad planning role and pointed out that the new procedures were still being crystallized (University of California, November 20, 1962). The committee gave an incomplete list of specific interdepartmental items on which it advised the chancellor. Both the 1962-63 and 1963-64 reports noted that the committee continued to review departmental budgets.

The 1964-65 committee proposed and the Division created a Special Committee on Budget Policy to handle the function of budget review. This new special committee eventually became the Committee on Academic Planning.

Adequacy of Reports, Procedures, and Policy

The committee reports annually to the Division on its routine cases, its advice to the administration, and other matters. The committee also issues ad hoc reports. With the exception of the Krech index reform, committee reports are seldom debated on the floor of the Senate. Usually they are received and filed. With one exception, the committee has not indicated the number of times and the issues involved when it reversed departmental or review committee reports in personnel cases. The administration consults with the committee before reversals are made but apparently the committee does not consult with departments or review committees before reversing them.

Also, the committee has not indicated what criteria it uses in advising the administration on routine matters such as budgetary review, the creation of new academic units, or the reorganization of existing ones. Confidentiality about the details of some of these matters is understandable but not silence concerning criteria on which such decisions are based.

Some of the interview respondents were careful to point out that the Budget Committee review represents only one step, though an important one, in the entire personnel process. The most time-consuming element in the process is the ad hoc review committees, and these respondents believe that proposals to speed up the personnel process should be directed at these review committees. The Budget

Committee itself has developed procedures for rendering an opinion quickly when necessary.

During the course of this research, six members of the central administration and seven academic deans were interviewed. Two deans were very much concerned about the time required to evaluate merit increases, appointments, and promotions. One dean reported that he appealed to the Committee on Privilege and Tenure about one case that took exceptionally long because he felt the candidate's professional rights to a decision within a reasonable period of time had been violated. It was a particularly frustrating experience, according to this respondent, because when the committee finally did render a favorable decision, it commented that this was an outstanding person.

Within the Budget Committee two important differences of opinion were revealed by the in-depth interviews. The first was over what constitutes a "good" appointment, and the second was over the emphasis that the committee placed on research, teaching, and service in the evaluation of cases.

Clearly, most members of the committee perceived their prime function to be the maintenance of quality standards in academic personnel appointments. It was equally clear that some members were more strict than others in applying these subjective standards of quality. An individual committee member's influence on appointments in his area was considerable. Because of this, two experienced

campus administrators reported that the appointments in a certain area can be adversely affected for three years by the position taken by the individual on the Budget Committee who was responsible for evaluating that area.

Concerning the relative emphasis given to research, teaching, or service in the evaluation, most committee respondents said that research productivity and/or other evidence of creativity was generally regarded as the sine qua non of tenure appointments and subsequent promotions at Berkeley. Case material always includes evidence in support of a candidate's creative or research abilities. The ten Budget Committee respondents varied greatly on the extent to which teaching is systematically evaluated by the committee.

A former chairman said that he tried to put togetner a generalization about the relative weight given to a group of marginal cases. It was this respondent's opinion that excellence in teaching more often carried a weak research record than excellence in research carried a weak teaching record. Another respondent pointed out that a weak research record was almost always accompanied by a strong teaching record. One other former chairman is quoted in full as follows:

> Approximately 5 to 10 percent of all those faculty who got tenure during my service on the Committee obtained this award with the full knowledge of everybody on the Committee that the classroom performance of the candidate was practically incompetent but that he was a good research scholar. These cases are often justified by such reasoning as the man may be the best

> research man available to cover a given area within the department.

A possible explanation for the different views expressed is that the latter respondent has been off the committee for six to eight years. The increasing campus furor over undergraduate teaching may have sensitized the committee somewhat. However, this is difficult to judge.

It was clear that the difficulties of evaluating teaching have been a continuous problem for the committee. Three respondents reported that negative teaching evaluations from departmental and ad hoc review committees were very rare. One was left to infer from lack of comments that the candidate was a bad teacher. Comments, such as "he works well in small groups," usually meant that the candidate was not a good lecturer.

In the absence of evidence of teaching quality the great majority of the Budget Committee believe, and attempt to enforce this belief, that the quality and, in some cases, the quantity of creative work was the prime criterion for advancement. It was the job of the department, not the committee, to develop, disseminate, and enforce standards of good teaching.

Finally, the role of service as a criterion for advancement was unclear. Most committee members felt that it was up to the department and others to make a strong case for services other than research and teaching. The important point was that, for young men, there could be no substitute for research productivity or demonstrated

creativity. Some members of the administration have argued for greater consideration by the committee of services to the University such as administrative activity. The committee considered such service in promotions and merit increases but for tenure appointments the prime criterion was research productivity and/or creative activity.

Academic administrators were more specifically critical of the Budget Committee's approach to personnel cases than was the committee itself. Two or three campus administrators who have dealt directly with the committee reported that it was strong on evaluating the quality of a man's research or creative efforts but that the committee was often not sympathetic to some of the other realities surrounding the personnel process, however. According to the administrative viewpoint, the committee was sometimes insensitive to the need to fill a position, especially if the candidate was merely adequate rather than outstanding.

Campus administrators and some academic deans argued that the committee was not sensitive enough to the specific needs of the professional schools when evaluating cases, pointing out that service is particularly important for some of the professional schools. One professional school dean appeared before the committee to inform them of the standards which his school was going to use in evaluating the service and consulting records as well as the research and teaching performance of his faculty. Two other professional school deans reported that they tried to make sure the committee appointed

ad hoc review committees which were likely to appreciate professional service.

Another complaint reported by these deans was that the Budget Committee was relatively insensitive to the need to meet competitive offers both from other schools and from industry. The law school succeeded in getting a special salary scale to handle this situation. The schools of engineering and business administration were recently granted special appropriations by the Board of Regents to redress the salary imbalance suffered by faculty in these areas when compared to salaries elsewhere.

The personnel process at Berkeley is understood to be very private. Review committee membership is kept from the candidate and his department chairman. With the exception of the dean of the college of letters and sciences, review committee reports were known only to the Budget Committee and members of the central administration.

In its reports to the Division, the Budget Committee has recommended that the membership of review committees also be kept from the deans. The seven deans interviewed unanimously opposed this, although some of them were not adamant. One dean reported that he invariably had to suggest changes in the composition of review committees; another reported that he rarely did so.

Some deans complained that it was difficult enough to make a strong case with the central administration because the dean never knew what specific objections had been raised by either the review

or Budget Committees. In cases of negative recommendations, the academic vice chancellor may or may not have chosen to read pertinent paragraphs of the report to the dean but its entire substance remained confidential.

It would, however, be inaccurate to imply that the central administration favored extensive reform of the personnel process. They and some deans have suggested more decentralization of appointments at the assistant professor level, a move which the Budget Committee has resisted, but complaints were usually not directed toward restructuring the process.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON ACADEMIC PLANNING

The Special Committee issued its first report to the Division at a meeting on March 22, 1966. The report was an oral one and was not, therefore, included in the Notice to the Meeting, which is circulated to the members in advance of the meeting. It consisted of three paragraphs which described the committee's activities. The central paragraph is reproduced below.

> The Special Committee is currently active on budget hearings in connection with the revision of the 1966-67 budget and on the preparation of the 1967-68 preliminary budget proposal. In order to gain more experience with the new arrangement, and especially to extend that experience over the full two-year budgeting cycle, the Special Committee recommends that it be continued on an experimental basis for 1966-67 and that its size be increased /University of California, May 13, 1965a, p. xii, and b, p. 16/.

The committee's size was increased from three to five members.

The second report of the Budget Policy Committee was issued on June 5, 1967, and dealt with the role of the University and administration of a tuition system. The committee's timing was especially important because the new governor's proposal to impose tuition on the University had received a great deal of attention. The chairman of the Budget Policy Committee also read a prepared statement to the Division concerning the functions and the work of that committee.

These two reports constitute the only reports issued by this committee to the Division up to June 1967. The Special Committee on Budget Policy became a standing committee of the Division on January 9, 1968, and its new title is the Committee on Academic Planning. The creation of this committee effectively removed the Senate from the detailed review of budgets. The faculty now deal with broad policy matters.

THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATIONAL POLICY (CEP)

Formal Responsibilities

According to the Bylaws, the CEP is to consider and report on matters involving questions of educational policy (University of California, March 29, 1965a). The committee's annual report for the years 1965-66 describes the area associated with educational policy as follows:

> This committee's basic concerns are the educational goals of the Berkeley campus, the policies that facilitate our reaching these goals, and the academic organization of the campus needed to maintain maximum effectiveness in our educational activities. The committee implements the expressed will of the Division, and also takes the initiative in bringing to the Division's attention new educational matters as they arise, and in advising thereon. The committee considers educational questions brought to it by the Chancellor and by the universitywide Committee on Educational Policy, acting as a source of informed opinion and, when necessary, seeking the views of the Division.
>
> The most specific assignment carried by this committee is the review of changes in administrative structure, the activities and functions of teaching and research units. This duty is conducted confidentially, and the committee's findings are reported directly to the Chancellor and Vice Chancellor /University of California, November 8, 1966b, p. 18/.

The size of the CEP is specified in the Bylaws and has varied from seven to six to seven and up to ten members at various stages of the sample period.

Qualifications for Membership

In making appointments to the Committee on Educational Policy, the Committee on Committees tended to rely more heavily on the ability-experience category than the other three, although representativeness was a close second. Most CEP appointees have had some kind of previous committee and/or administrative experience. Two members of the Committee on Committees referred to the experience factor as "a quality of the elder statesman." When probed as to what measures of statesmanship they used, both said they meant a

broad knowledge of university affairs as exhibited in previous Senate committee or other administrative service. Of the nine Committee on Committees members who answered, one said there were no special qualities for the CEP, while five of the remaining eight identified the area of ability-experience, defined previously, as most important.

Interviews with twelve CEP members as to how they were chosen to serve on the committee confirm the pattern of previous related committee work or administrative experience as a criterion for appointment. One accepted the assignment in lieu of becoming chairman of his department. Seven of the twelve interviewees thought that some previous committee or administrative work was a chief factor in their appointments. Such work included the following kinds of activities: department chairmanship, chairmanship of a college faculty body and/or committee, service on other Senate committees, and membership on a national association committee.

Representativeness was apparently a close second in importance when making appointments to CEP. A real effort was made to make sure that all academic areas of the campus are represented. This factor was so obvious that some of the interviewees may have neglected to give it proper weight. Some Committee on Committees respondents saw the Committee on Educational Policy as an ideal situation in which to try out "younger" men, namely associate professors, in order to add this dimension of representativeness.

It is important that prospective CEP members indicate a degree of interest in serving on the committee. Three of the committee's members did say they had announced their availability for service by checking the appropriate box on the Committee on Committees questionnaire. Four others said they knew or were personally acquainted with someone either on the Committee on Committees or whose place they were taking on CEP because of a resignation. Interest in general committee work is, of course, implied in previous committee assignments.

The elements of personality which enter into Educational Policy appointments hinge around an attitude of "openness," a sense of fairness, and soundness of judgment, according to respondents.

Reported Activities

When CEP is specifically charged to report on ad hoc matters, it does so, and the Division has debated some of these reports quite extensively. The committee has issued occasional reports on questions of substantive educational policy such as the teaching responsibilities of faculty and controlled growth of the University to the year 2000, but these reports are seldom debated by the faculty. (Some issues one would expect the committee to be concerned with are presided over by other standing or special committees.)

The annual reports consist of lists of the research or academic units evaluated, the number of committee meetings, and a

list of problems which the committee is discussing. There have been little reference in these reports to the substantive criteria on which the CEP bases its advice to the administration. For example, the reports failed to state what criteria are used in evaluating a proposal for a new academic department. When CEP reported that it issued advice to the chancellor on the use of computers on the campus, it failed to state the problem, what alternatives were considered, and, finally, what advice it gave. Of course, some confidentiality in specific cases may be desirable. However, CEP makes decisions and issues advice confidentially but does not report the policies on which such decisions are based.

The Division is also largely unaware of how often the administration takes the committee's advice and how often this advice is rejected. Evidence from interviews indicates that many CEP members are not aware of this important detail.

Informal Activities

Several of the fourteen CEP interview respondents referred to the essentially conservative nature of CEP on quality issues. These respondents said that CEP was in the position of having to defend, uphold, and apply standards of quality in educational policy when reviewing institutes, departments, or other matters.

Two respondents, self-identified with the liberal-radical element in campus politics, reported that they found themselves to be conservatives on questions of educational policy. One of these

men, a scientist, said he continually favored more course work and a traditional emphasis on statistics, math, and the basic sciences when evaluating proposals for new academic units or reorganization of existing units.

One chairman of CEP reported that he had requested the Committee on Committees to appoint more innovators and to try to make CEP more representative of the broad spectrum of campus opinion. Presumably, this would make the committee itself more open to innovative educational efforts. It is doubtful, however, that CEP could be "liberalized" by one or two dissident voices.

The CEP's very function, as perceived by many of its members, was to maintain traditional standards of quality. The contemporary cry for educational relevance, the first criteria of black studies programs, flies in the face of traditional quality standards, such as research productivity of the faculty and systematic, disciplined inquiry into a traditional body of knowledge. If the CEP maintains its emphasis on traditional quality, it is difficult to foresee any positive recommendation from the committee on a program based on nontraditional goals.

The CEP provides a forum for proponents and opponents of proposals to state their views, away from the glare of publicity. Whenever a new research unit or academic department is proposed or a question with educational policy implications arises, such as the Governance Commission Report, CEP is likely to call in the interested

parties to ascertain the range of views. Before the committee issues a negative recommendation, it is likely to consult all parties involved.

The emphasis in discussion is on interdepartmental or college matters but the CEP tries to be aware of conflicts within departments as well, considering their consequences for the case at hand.

THE COMMITTEE ON COURSES OF INSTRUCTION (CI)

Formal Responsibilities

The functions and duties of the Courses Committee are given below:

> It reviews, coordinates and takes final action on all matters relating to courses of instruction, including approval of new courses, modification, withdrawal, conduct, credit valuation, and classification of existing courses, and consults with and advises departments and individual members of the Division on courses of instruction...
>
> The committee is empowered to act on behalf of the Division in reviewing recommendations from the colleges, schools, and graduate council concerning the award of degrees, certificates, and honors /University of California, November 8, 1966a, p. 5/.

The Courses Committee is one of the few committees of the Academic Senate which has the power of final approval over matters which it considers. Much of the committee's work is devoted to performing administrative functions from which there is little or no appeal. The Bylaws, however, specifically instruct the committee to give full consideration to departmental views and representatives

as well as individual faculty members.

The size of the Courses Committee is not specified in the Bylaws, and its size has fluctuated from seven members in the early years of the ten-year period to thirteen in 1966-67 (Table 3).

Qualifications for Membership

Appointments to the Committee on Courses of Instruction were quite different from appointments to other committees analyzed. This committee appeared to be of lesser importance in the informal hierarchy of Senate committees. Some of the Committee on Committees respondents were unable to identify qualifications which were necessary for service on CI. The qualifications which did exist were relatively objective ones, such as representativeness and experience, rather than subjective ones, and many of the appointments to the committee were taken from younger faculty.

Reported Activities

The committee did not report to the Division at all for the first seven years of the sample period. The first report issued by the Courses Committee, April 5, 1965, was in response to legislation passed by the Division on December 10, 1964. The legislation dele ted to the Committee on Courses the authority to recommend to the president of the University candidates for degrees and honors and, as a result of this legislation, the committee issued its first five reports, all in academic years 1964-65 through 1966-67.

In the December 5, 1966, Notice to Meetings (University of California), the Courses Committee broke its long silence and issued a lengthy report to the Division concerning its activities and responsibilities. The report considered four major topics: 1) the responsibilities of the Berkeley Committee on Courses, its organization, and procedures; 2) the responsibilities of the Committee on Courses on other campuses of the University; 3) the work of the committee in connection with conversion to the quarter system; 4) the need for reappraisals of some of the responsibilities and procedures of the committee.

The committee pointed out that it was not an advisory committee but that its responsibilities were primarily administrative. The body of the report went on to list some of the activities which the committee performed such as the approval of undergraduate courses; the approval of University Extension courses; the approval of candidates for degrees, certificates, and honors; and the administration and interpretation of the Senate's rules on examination and grades.

Appendix B listed the current membership of the Courses Committee and its subcommittees. The appendix also provided information on the use of records and statistics kept by the committee, the procedures for processing course approval requests, and the procedures for processing correspondence. The responsiblities of Committee on Courses on other campuses were tabulated in Appendix D.

The report explained the work and role of the committee

in conversion to the quarter system. The committee had to consider every course request issued in the prototype catalog for the spring of 1965 and the general catalog in the summer of 1966, and the committee's workload was extremely heavy.

The report also cited some guidelines used in ascertaining whether course requests should be granted. The committee assumed that the department had done its best in realigning these courses and, therefore, dealt mainly with the question of course duplication. The report stressed the fact that the committee consulted with department chairmen and other individuals involved in these course requests.

Finally, the report discussed the need to reappraise some functions of the Committee on Courses. In the light of increased local campus autonomy, the question of departmental autonomy with respect to courses and student evaluation was a real one. The committee concluded that the present division of responsibility may have given the Courses Committee too much responsibility and too few guidelines. The committee pointed out that it was often hampered in its work by commitments made by the chancellor's office, with respect to teaching personnel for a department, which often did not consider a series of new courses that might be related to an articulated plan contemplated for that department. The committee asked for the direction of the Division, seeking clarification of whether or not financial resources of a department were to be considered outside

of the jurisdiction of the Committee on Courses. According to the minutes of the meeting, no substantive discussion was given to this question.

Informal Activities

The committee performs several functions stemming from its formal position as reviewer of academic courses and curricula. During a typical academic year the committee receives from 1000 to 1300 requests for changes in courses. Most of these are handled routinely by subcommittees and passed in a group by the committee. Occasionally, these requests involve conflicts between departments and/or colleges, and the committee has to mediate between them. For example, the creation of a new department often results in the potential overlapping of the courses offered in existing departments. The CI would have to mediate any conflict between a new black studies department's course offerings and the departments of sociology or history. These conflicts are real ones and pose significant problems for the committee.

The committee has also attempted to control the proliferation of similar courses throughout the separate departments and colleges. For example, the committee considered the number and nature of statistics courses being offered by various academic units, compared to those offered by the statistics department itself.

The committee also handles student requests for waivers of graduation requirements or petitions for revised grades. These are

transmitted by the deans and, in some cases, have to be explained by the dean to the committee.

The CI is responsible for evaluating the course offerings of the Extension Center and for certifying the faculty as competent to teach them. The University Extension Center requests are handled by a subcommittee of CI. In cases where the qualifications of the instructor are questionable, the entire committee considers the problem.

Reaction to the Committee

Many respondents believed that CI is held in low esteem by the faculty in general. The Committee on Committees did not consider it an important committee. The first Senate Policy Committee's State of the Campus message had suggested the CI's function of reviewing courses might be delegated to departments.

The 1966-67 chairman of CI attempted to salvage the image of the committee and revitalize its operations, organizing sub-committees and delegating many of the committee's details to them. The entire committee began to consider only those requests for course changes which were not routinely passed by these subcommittees. The new chairman adopted a policy of more direct consultation with department chairmen and deans in an effort to combat the committee's reputation for arbitrary action and rigidity. In the words of one respondent, "The Committee attempted to channel these changes and to make change an orderly process rather than a precipitous one.

The Chairman attempted to change the image of the committee and to come to terms with the obvious need for change in courses."

Under this dynamic chairman, the CI issued its first detailed report. In cases where the committee had to interpret existing regulations, it attempted to be more flexible than the records showed it had been in the past. To encourage the innovative efforts of the newly created Board of Educational Development (BED), the CI chairman promised informally that his committee would not veto BED-proposed courses.

It is difficult to judge whether or not these attempts to change the image and operations of CI have been perceived by the general faculty. The minority report to the Senate Policy Committee report of March 1968 was still critical of CI as were some of the Committee on Committees respondents. All faculty closely associated with CI were aware of the changes and uniformly applauded the new direction. The chairman of CI for 1967-68 carried through on the work of the previous chairman but it is too early to judge whether the CI will eventually be regarded differently by the faculty.

Perhaps the most important change which occurred from this concerted effort to reorganize the committee was an alteration of the committee's own perception of its function. Previously, the committee actually denied requests for changes in existing courses or for new courses. Now the committee members report that they no longer actually deny a request but rather attempt to consult with

departments to find a mutually acceptable solution. The committee is likely to suggest an alternative, such as using an experimental course number instead of a new course when there is some question as to whether the course should be permanently placed among the department's offerings. The committee also encourages interdepartmental consultation when possible conflicts occur. Usually, the committee will delay action pending this consultation.

SUMMARY

The Budget Committee's primary responsibility is evaluating personnel for advancement or appointment. During early years of the period it reviewed some details of departmental budgets but this function was assigned to the Committee on Academic Planning and is now focused on broad policy matters rather than on details. The work of personnel review became increasingly centralized within the committee. The committee also advised the administration on request.

The relative emphasis given to teaching and service is a source of disagreement within the committee. The sine qua non of tenure appointments, however, is research productivity or demonstrated creative activity, often, it appears, at the expense of teaching quality.

Criticisms directed at the committee included the following: It took too much time to reach decisions, it stressed research rather than teaching or service in the evaluation process, it was relatively insensitive to the particular needs of the professional

schools, and it operated in too much secrecy. On the other hand, the committee was very strong on the evaluation of research quality. Many felt that a faculty committee could say no to a fellow faculty member with more authority and impartiality than any administrative group.

The frequency of Budget Committee reports appears to be adequate but they have not included statements of the criteria on which the committee bases its advice to the administration. These reports also tend to ignore the committee's reversals of review committee or departmental recommendations.

The CEP has dealt with a wide range of issues such as year-round operations, limitation of enrollment, and academic plans. Specifically, CEP reviewed proposals for new research or instructional units and evaluated existing ones. The committee members were careful to point out that more time was spent on ad hoc matters rather than on the routine evaluation of academic units.

The criteria for appointment to the CEP in order of their importance were--ability-experience, representativeness, interest, and personal qualities. Recall, however, that the data presented in Chapter 3 reveal that the professional schools account for only 26 percent of CEP members while they represent 42 percent of the faculty.

In-depth interviews revealed that one of the principal functions of the committee was to serve as a forum for debate about

proposals involving matters of educational policy. The committee meets with proponents and opponents of an issue before issuing its recommendations. The majority of its recommendations are confidential and go directly to the administration.

The Courses Committee's major responsibility is to review requests for new courses and revisions of old ones. Its action on these requests are usually final. The committee is of lesser importance in the informal hierarchy of Senate committees than the others studied in this report. CI also provides an entry into the system for some younger faculty.

In recent years the committee has tried to change its image and be more flexible in considering course requests. One of its chief functions now is to mediate interdepartmental course matters.

CHAPTER VI

ACADEMIC DECISION MAKING

This chapter presents observations and conclusions on decision-making patterns of faculty committees. It also describes the various recent attempts to coordinate the activities of Senate committees and to maintain adequate liaison with the administration and the importance of administrative committees to the process of academic decision making. Also discussed is the Senate's degree of contact with the public and outside agencies.

FACULTY SENATE COMMITTEES

Consensus was the prevailing pattern of decision making in the committees analyzed. Typically, the entire committee would react to and discuss the draft of one of its informal or formal subcommittees. Committee chairmen allocated matters involving more than perfunctory consideration to the subcommittees or individuals. Chapter 4 described the internal assignment of responsibilities by the chairman of the Committee on Committees. Similar patterns existed in the Senate Policy Committee, the Budget Committee, the CEP, and the Courses Committee. The small, new Committee on Academic Planning had not yet divided into subcommittees by the date of study. The procedures for using subcommittees varies. The Budget Committee and the CEP use reports of review committees but do not regard them as subcommittees. The Courses Committee's subcommittees for handling

course requests were well established, and this routine matter was directly allocated to them by administrative clerks, according to established policies and in lieu of direct allocation by the chairman.

Role of Committee Chairmen

The committee chairman is a crucial factor in consensual decision making. He must be sensitive to the emerging consensus or prevailing mood of the committee.

Committee chairmen are appointed by the Committee on Committees, usually from among those with previous service on the committee. The duties of a chairman include the internal operation of the committee, contacts with other committees, and liaison with the administration and the statewide Senate. The description of the actual duties of specific chairmen will vary with the committee in question but the following paragraph is a detailed paraphrase of one Budget Committee chairman's resume of his duties.

First, he is responsible for those cases in his own academic area. Second, he assigns areas to other committee members, and, third, he reviews each member's proposals for review committees. Fourth, he takes the first detailed look at a case before the individual member presents it to the committee and, fifth, they jointly present the case to the entire committee. Sixth, the chairman rewrites the difficult cases. The chairman also handles miscellaneous requests for committee advice from the administration or the Senate.

Approximately one-half of these requests he answers without any prior consultation with the committee. Consultation with the vice chancellor or chancellor about disagreements on the difficult cases comprises the eighth duty of the Budget Committee chairman while the ninth is service on the Universitywide Budget Committee. Finally, the chairman also receives occasional requests for interviews; invitations to address student, faculty, or public meetings; and requests to serve on administrative committees.

This myriad of duties and responsibilities gives the chairman of the committee a grasp of the details and operation of the committee which is superior to that of any other member. The chairman has a complete view of committee operations. How he uses this knowledge varies with the chairman.

In considering the creation of a new academic unit, the CEP made one recommendation under one chairman and then reversed itself when that chairman resigned. The CEP underwent considerable rediscussion on whether it was ethical to reverse itself at this late date. According to the respondent, the position taken by the new chairman on this issue was crucial to the course of the debate. The chairman persistently argued that the committee could reverse itself but only after a full investigation of the entire matter. The chairman himself reported that it took three or four meetings to convince the committee of his position but that he eventually succeeded.

Another example of a chairman's influence on the internal

organization of a committee was revealed in the interviews. A past chairman of the CEP was convinced that his predecessor had done too much of the committee's work himself. He also felt that the committee seldom discussed questions of substantive educational policy as opposed to its routine day to day workload.

To correct the first problem, the new chairman reorganized the internal workings of the committee and formalized the agenda. Each individual member was responsible for writing drafts and redrafts of issues referred to him, although the chairman retained responsibility for the final draft. Because the committee's agenda was known in advance, each member was expected to prepare himself for discussion.

To correct the lack of substantive discussions on CEP, the new chairman began to set up luncheon meetings at the faculty club. During the lunch the chairman would start discussion on some question of educational policy confronting the University at Berkeley. To lighten the workload of each individual committee member, the chairman requested, and the Senate granted, an increase in the size of the committee.

In interviews with subsequent members and chairmen of CEP, it was apparent that the practice of extra luncheon meetings had been discontinued but that the practice of assigning more responsibility to individual committee members had been retained and developed. The chairman of this important committee could direct, urge, or coerce

the CEP into consideration of substantive issues rather than being satisfied with mere performance of routine duties.

In summary, the chairman of a Senate committee has the potential to influence greatly the direction a committee will take or the decision it will reach. He is usually the only member of the committee who is aware of the entire range of issues with which the committee deals, he makes internal committee assignments and represents the committee to others. Finally, whatever attempts are made to coordinate the activities of Senate committees go through the chairman. These coordinating mechanisms are discussed in the following section.

Intercommittee Contacts

Contact between Senate committees is usually limited to *ad hoc* matters. For example, subcommittees of the Courses Committee and the Board of Educational Development met and issued a joint report on field studies (University of California, December 4, 1967). In the past, the CEP has met with other committees and issued joint reports. In January 1964 the CEP issued a joint report with the Special Committee on Limitation of Enrollment (University of California, January 13, 1964). The Budget Committee and CEP also issued a joint report on year-round operations (University of California, March 26, 1963).

Another method of maintaining liaison between Senate committees is by a member of one committee becoming an *ex officio*

member of another. For example, a member of the Courses Committee usually was a member of the Graduate Council and was responsible for liaison between these two committees. A member of the Courses Committee was also on the University Extension Committee, and the Senate Policy Committee had one member who was also an assembly representative (University of California, November 8, 1966a).

Multiple committee appointments also helps maintain liaison between Senate committees. Of the 590 faculty on Senate committees during the ten-year period, 125 (21 percent) held two or more appointments at the same time. Of the 138 individuals who served as chairman of any Senate committee during this period, fifty-six (41 percent) were on two or more committees at the same time. Many of these overlapping assignments are due to the fact that the chairmen of certain committees are also divisional representatives to the Universitywide Assembly. However, there have been some substantive overlapping assignments. In past years a chairman of the Committee on Committees was also on the University Welfare Committee, a chairman of the Division was also on the Budget Committee, and a member of the Committee on Committees was also a member of the Senate Policy Committee. In recent years, however, the Committee on Committees has been reluctant to appoint one person to more than one committee, and the practice of significant overlapping appointments appears to be subsiding.

As reported in Chapter 3, the Senate Policy Committee has

the broad responsibility of coordinating the activities of the various Senate committees. In its State of the Campus messages, the inadequacy of intercommittee coordination and subsequent contacts with the administration was cited (University of California, March 1966; March 7, 1967; April 8, 1968).

LIAISON BETWEEN THE ACADEMIC SENATE AND THE ADMINISTRATION

According to one campus official, one of the administrative problems in trying to manage the University at Berkeley is how to penetrate the committee structure of the Academic Senate. Matters which have importance far beyond the Senate itself are considered in committees, and they are entirely devoid of formal administrative representation. Without prior knowledge of some of these issues, the administration would find itself in a position of having to react to recommendations rather than aiding in their formulation.

For example, one campus administrator discussed a recommendation for the appointment of the director of an institute. The review committee was split three to one on two possible candidates. Three of the faculty on the review committee plus the dean of the school favored one candidate while the Budget Committee reversed the majority in favor of the minority report. The administration was faced with having to decide which report to accept but had had little opportunity to enter into the discussion process before having to make this difficult decision. Another example of lack

of Senate-administrative consultation occurred when the Senate voted, at a meeting eventually terminated due to lack of a quorum, not to include students on the Committee on Teaching (University of California, June 3, 1968b). The administration had to bear the brunt of this ad hoc rejection of a principle which many militant students were not likely to accept passively. The basic criticism of this decision was that the Senate failed to consider the issue in its entire perspective of student, faculty, and administrative relationships.

Since FSM there have been a few attempts to formalize and increase the amount of Senate-administrative consultation on issues of joint concern. Some of these attempts are described in the next section.

The Berkeley Academic Senate Intercommittee Council (BASIC) and Other Coordinating Structures

When a new chancellor came to the campus in 1965, he was advised by some Senate members that previous chancellors had regarded an informal advisory mechanism, namely the Academic Advisory Council, as the voice of the faculty. The new chancellor was told that this was a mistake and was advised to broaden his consultation and informational contacts when seeking faculty advice. The mechanism of the Academic Advisory Council was dropped, according to one respondent, because the faculty came to regard it as an arm of the administration rather than of the faculty. In an effort to consult with the

Academic Senate, the administration requested the Committee on Committees to identify some knowledgeable faculty members who would serve as a consultative group. Members of the administrative staff met with this group a few times but the meetings were not continued due to lack of a regular agenda and sufficient staff.

During the 1966-67 academic year some members of the Senate, especially chairmen of certain key committees, came to realize that there was not sufficient communication either among Senate committees or between these committees and the chancellor. As a result, the Berkeley Academic Senate Intercommittee Council (BASIC) was organized by the chairman and officers of the Senate (University of California, March 1966). The chairmen of approximately ten committees which deal with educational policy matters, such as Library, Courses, and Educational Policy Committees, began to meet without any administrative representative present. After the first few meetings, the chancellor was invited to attend and he or his representative began to do so. The members of the administration and the chairmen of Senate committees who were interviewed and who participated in BASIC were favorable in their comments about its effectiveness but it was allowed to lapse when a formal council was proposed by the Senate Policy Committee.

In June of 1968, the Policy Committee introduced legislation which was intended to replace BASIC with a Council on Educational Affairs. The Council was to be composed of one member of each of the ten committees dealing with educational affairs. Its charge

was to serve as a coordinating agency, to examine the committee structure in the area of educational policy and recommend changes as needed and to devise methods of working closely with the chancellor on educational matters (University of California, June 3, 1968a). This legislation fell just one vote short of the necessary two-thirds majority (University of California, June 3, 1968a).

In 1967-68 the administration created an Educational Policy Council comprised of academic deans, some members of the chancellor's staff, and the chairmen of leading Senate committees dealing with educational policy matters. This was a conscious effort by the administration to include deans in the educational policy-making process and to increase the liaison between the Senate's committees and the administration.

In summary, as of June 1968, BASIC had stopped meeting because the Senate was expected to ratify a Council on Educational Affairs, which fell one vote short of passage. The administration has created an Educational Policy Council consisting of deans, other administrators, and the chairmen of leading Senate committees. The administration has also developed a system whereby each member of the central administration has accepted responsibility for maintaining liaison with a group of Senate committees. These responsibilities are known to the chairmen of each Senate committee so that each committee has a contact in the chancellor's office. The liaison man for the Senate Policy Committee is the executive vice chancellor,

for CEP he is the vice chancellor for research,and for the Budget Committee he is the vice chancellor for academic affairs.

ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEES

The University at Berkeley has approximately 100 campuswide non-Senate committees which report to the chancellor, a dean, or some other administrative body. The actual number of administrative committees depends on how one counts. Campus Report of January 10, 1968, cites a figure of 100. A list prepared by the chancellor's office contains only eighty-four but with obvious omissions and inconsistencies. For example, only twenty-two of the advisory committees to research institutes are listed whereas fifty such institutes were listed in the Campus Directory that year. In addition, the Building and Campus Development Committee has approximately forty-two subcommittees. The number and nature of administrative committees is too complex to discuss in detail here, but a description of some of the issues with which these committees deal will help to distinguish between them and Senate committees.

There are five academic councils or coordinating committees such as the Biology Council, the Physical Science Council,and the Coordinating Committee on Bioengineering. According to the minutes, the membership of the Biology Council is comprised of the chairmen of twelve departments considered to be almost wholly biological plus biologically oriented members of five other departments (University of California, February 3, 1966). The council deals with major

requirements, new programs,and the instructional aspects of the program in biology and reports to the dean of letters and sciences as well as the vice chancellor for academic affairs.

Approximately twenty-two interdisciplinary committees are advisory to the various research institutes and centers on the campus. Arts and culture committees, about four in number, advise the chancellor concerning the art museum and the theatre. Nine committees are involved with the distribution of various awards or grants. The chancellor has about fifteen ad hoc or advisory committees which deal with special problems such as drug usage, the federal work-study program, the campus recreational area, and year-round operations. Nine committees deal with personnel and student problems. They include a parking appeals committee, a faculty club committee, a committee on foreign students, and the Student Conduct Committee. About seven committees give advice on public ceremonies, relations with the city of Berkeley, the selection of student speakers, and the preservation of natural resources. Nine other committees advise the administration on various educational programs such as education abroad, science education, and some intern programs. Tnis accounts for eighty of the eighty-four committees on the executive vice chancellor's list.

The major administrative committee not included in the foregoing classification is the Building and Campus Development Committee (BCD). This important committee will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

The Building and Campus Development Committee (BCD)

The BCD meets monthly and advises the chancellor on capital improvements, space assignments, land acquisition, student housing, and the needs of various departments, research units, and administrative offices (University of California, October 6, 1966). According to one of its past chairmen, the BCD's chief function is to moderate the physical development of the Berkeley campus and seek accommodations when interests clash. The members of the committee need to be informed on the academic plan of the campus, changes in student mix at Berkeley, and the role of organized research on the campus.

The BCD has twenty-four members, eight of whom are nonfaculty people. The eight nonfaculty include two students, the campus architect, the campus planner, the registrar, the dean of students, a technical advisor, and an assistant to the chancellor.

Faculty, and hence [illegible] membership on the BCD is broadly representative of the various academic areas on the campus. Appointments are made formally by the chancellor after consultation with the chairman of the BCD. In recent years the Committee on Committees has been asked for recommendations. The forty-two subcommittees are appointed by the chancellor upon recommendation of the chairman of BCD. Many of these subcommittees mediate floor space assignments in the separate buildings on campus. Others deal with parking, landscaping, naming buildings, and campus ecology. The entire list of

BCD subcommittees is found in the Annual Report issued by the assistant to the chancellor. Two major subcommittees which deal with the allocation of floor space are those on space priorities and space utilization. The Space Priorities Subcommittee assembles priorities in the capital budget for the year and the Space Utiliza- Subcommittee adjudicates space assignment disputes between colleges or departments.

Because floor space assignment is such a controversial problem, members of the administration and the Senate have been discussing ways in which the Space Utilization Subcommittee could become a committee of the Senate or could at least be accountable to the Senate. One suggested compromise was to let the Committee on Committees appoint the membership of the Space Utilization Committee. The BCD now has to mediate some severe conflicts between departments and colleges about floor space, and some members of the BCD, the faculty,and the administration believe this problem may be more effectively handled by a Senate committee than by a committee appointed by the administration.

The Policy Committee, in its State of the Campus message (October 11, 1965b), has questioned the need for a parallel structure of administrative committees. Many faculty respondents also complained about the existence of administrative committees, regarded as intrusions on the viability of Senate committees. These faculty respondents argued that a clear faculty viewpoint was needed on some of

the matters dealt with by these committees.

Members of the administration agreed that some changes could be made in the number and structure of administrative committees but they also presented several persuasive arguments in favor of retaining some administrative committees. They pointed out that the current committee structure of the Academic Senate excludes the central administration from the process whereby educational policies are formulated. Administrative-Senate committee contact comes only at the end of the process. These respondents also revealed that Senate committees are free to accept or reject administrative requests for advice on any matter. For example, the Committee on Educational Policy rejected a request to consider the effects that the increasing politization of the campus had had on the educational processes of the University at Berkeley.

Also, the administration pointed to its need to discuss current problems with members of the faculty informally and confidentially before solutions are put in writing in the form of a committee report. In cases where Senate committees are unwilling to do this, administrative committees are appointed.

Senate committees claim to be overworked and understaffed already, and it is doubtful that they could handle the increased workload without significant modifications in Senate structure. The Policy Committee would find it difficult to coordinate the activities of administrative committees, and the current Committee

on Committees couldn't handle the extra work. Traditionally, the Senate has rejected proposals aimed at providing administrative staff to handle the details of faculty committees, so most of the increased workload would fall on the faculty.

Administrative committees also have the advantage of permitting key members of the administration to participate directly in the committee's discussions. Some administrators are, of course, also members of the Senate, but many are not. For example, any discussions on the campus budget which exclude the assistant to the chancellor who is responsible for that document are bound to lack information. The intimate details of the budget are known only to him and members of his staff, not because they are secretive but rather because so much detail is involved. The campus planner, the architect, and many others involved in physical planning are not members of the Senate but few have argued that they ought to be excluded from discussions on their specialties. To do so would be unrealistic.

Administrative committees also have student members, and the Senate has yet to include students on most of its committees (University of California, January 10, 1968). Occasional exceptions, such as the Governance Commission and the Committee on Student Affairs, can be cited,but the Senate has not been willing to enlarge student participation beyond these committees.

Finally, the administration claims, and the Policy Committee

apparently agrees, that there is little jurisdictional overlap between the Senate's committees and those of the administration (University of California, January 10, 1968). It is, however, likely that certain modifications of the administrative committee structure can and will be effected.

Both the faculty and the administration seem to agree that greater faculty consultation and control over the allocation of floor space would be desirable. The faculty want more voice in this issue because, in the absence of the continued growth of physical plant and facilities, the issue is extremely important and will become even more so. The administration believes that the faculty should have more voice in this issue and that some of the conflict which is and will be generated over floor space ought to be moderated by the faculty themselves.

This chapter has presented research findings and descriptions of decision making within faculty committees, intercommittee contacts, liaison between the Senate and the administration,and administrative committees. During the interviews, an attempt was made to assess the amount and nature of Senate contact with students and external agencies such as the general public or the Board of Regents. The next section describes the responses about these external relationships.

SENATE EXTERNAL RELATIONS

Direct contact between Berkeley Senate committees and non-

faculty parties are rare. The Budget Committee has received occasional phone calls or petitions from students who support the retention of a particular faculty member. In the early years of this study the chairman of the Courses Committee was asked to prepare information on course proliferation for the legislature, and the chairman of the Budget Committee received a request for information from the State Senate's Finance Committee. Both of these requests were forwarded through the chancellor's office.

During the 1964-65 academic year the Emergency Executive Committee (EEC) established direct contact with the University Board of Regents about the FSM crisis. Members of EEC reported, in their interviews, that the committee's relations with the Board were complicated by the existence of a conservative faculty "truth squad." It became obvious to EEC that the Regents had some direct contact with the more conservatively oriented faculty at Berkeley and that these relationships were confounding the negotiations between EEC and the Regents. According to the respondents, the more conservative faculty members felt it necessary to counter some of the information being given the Regents about the FSM crisis and life at Berkeley.

After the dismissal of President Kerr in 1966, the Division delegated to the Senate Policy Committee the responsibility for furthering the objectives set forth in the resolution of January 24, including "that the advice and consent of the faculty be secured in decisions affecting the appointment and tenure of a President"

and "that effective channels be developed whereby the several faculties can communicate to the Regents concerning major policy matters before the Board /University of California, p. v/." Direct contact between the Universitywide Senate and the board must be through the office of the president, according to the Standing Orders of the Regents (University of California, December 1967). A meeting between the Senate Policy Committee and a committee of the Regents was arranged by the chancellor's office, however, assuming that discussion with a Regents committee did not constitute direct contact with the board.

In summary, there was little, if any, regular contact between the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate and nonfaculty or administrative agencies. In times of crisis, the Division attempted to initiate direct contact with the Board of Regents and effected some meetings between committees of the board and committees of the division. There was some evidence that some members of the Regents have direct informal access to faculty members at Berkeley and that these relationships may have been as important as the formal Division-board contacts. It is difficult to assess the extent and nature of such contacts.

SUMMARY

The pattern of decision making within faculty committees is one of consensus, with the entire committee discussing the report of a subcommittee. There appears to be real pressure on committee

members to work out their differences within the committee and before reports are issued. The role of the chairman can be very important in this process.

Formal and informal methods for maintaining liaison among Senate committees and with the administration were discussed. The Senate Policy Committee continues to characterize these methods as inadequate but an attempt to create a coordinating council failed.

During the entire process of Senate committee deliberations, extreme care is taken to maintain the integrity and distinctiveness of the faculty viewpoint. There is no consultation between the Courses Committee and the central administration. The Budget Committee and the Committee on Educational Policy deliberate largely independent of prior consultation with the central administration. Administrators are not free to attend committee meetings but are occasionally invited to discuss specific matters.

The Academic Senate at Berkeley operates closer to a model of separate faculty-administrative jurisdictions than to a model of shared faculty-administrative authority. Great emphasis is put on attempts to create Senate committee consensus before the administration becomes involved.

The existence of administrative committees has proved useful and even essential to the administrative functioning of the campus. These committees provide the administration with information and advice which the Senate either will not or is not equipped to

offer. They also provide an opportunity for administrators and students who are not Senate members to participate in and provide information relevant to the decision-making process.

The Senate's committees have had little contact with the public or external agencies. It is difficult to assess the effects of the faculty's discussion with committees of the Regents.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter will present discussion and conclusions concerning the effects of crises on the Senate, the characteristics of the faculty ruling elite or oligarchy, and a summary of power and authority in Senate committees. This chapter also deals with faculty-administrative relations and how authority is shared and concludes with a discussion of how authority ought to be shared.

FACULTY ACTIONS IN TIMES OF CRISIS

Although no attempt was made to discuss the causes of the crises or link the crises and subsequent events in a causal relationship, certain differences in the amount and style of Academic Senate activities are discernible in crisis periods, as compared to noncrisis periods. The most obvious and directly measurable concomitant of severe crises, such as FSM or the student strike, has been to increase the attendance at Senate meetings (Figure 1). Moreover, during such crises the amount of discussion, political organizing, and lobbying in behalf of the resolutions which are invariably offered to the Senate is likely to increase. By the time a crisis resolution is presented on the floor of the Senate, it often has been discussed, reworded, and negotiated to the point where further compromise is often resisted. Some respondents argued that once an important

resolution gets to the floor of the Senate, it is such a finely worded statement that its proponents resist all attempts to change it because the nature of the compromise which it represents would also change. In such cases, the Senate is no longer a forum for debate but has become a place where previously negotiated compromises are made public.

It seems clear that during crises, overt conflict tended to increase and existing differences among the faculty at Berkeley were heightened. Those who wrote about the oath controversy pointed out that faculty conflict was intense during that period. During FSM, overt conflict was reflected in the creation of the Committee of Two Hundred and the Faculty Forum. The former organization has continued to operate informally and may have been reorganized into the Berkeley Faculty Alliance, during and after the fall 1968 crisis over the guest lectureship of Eldridge Cleaver.

Times of crisis have also put severe pressure on the existing structures and functions of Senate committees. During FSM, the Senate voted to elect the Emergency Executive Committee rather than to allow the Committee on Committees to appoint it. The Senate has developed the practice of appointing ad hoc committees to handle special problems, and some of these committees have produced stimulating reports. The addition of special and standing committees constitutes one structural response to crisis.

After FSM and again after the 1966 strike the Senate was

moved to examine another change in its governing structure. The Emergency Executive Committee and the Senate Policy Committee were both delegated the authority to speak for the Senate to the Regents and the president. This kind of delegation was against the well-established traditions of the Senate. Such delegation continued to be ad hoc and for relatively short periods of time,and the Senate has continued to refuse to adopt an executive committee or to delegate authority to a representative body on a permanent basis.

Also, the functions of some standing committees were changed during crises. The creation of the Senate Policy Committee was accomplished in such general terms that the committee could consider whatever it chose. In its reports the committee has commented on enrollment levels, budgetary stringency, and the selection of a new president, all of which were matters previously handled by other Senate committees.

Chapter 5 reported a change in the function performed by the Committee on Courses. The committee changed its function from the detailed review of specific course requests to where it has become a central agency for the mediation of competing departmental and college courses and curricula. Whether or not this change was directly due to crisis or to a prevailing mood of susceptibility to change was not clear. The atmosphere of willingness to consider change appeared to be an important, but subtle, effect of FSM at Berkeley. In the spring of 1965, some respondents reported that

the campus was especially receptive to new ideas and was alive with the hope of beautiful things to come. The Muscatine Committee was working on the problems of undergraduate education at Berkeley, the Tussman (1969) experimental program was just getting under way, students had "won" their political freedom, and the ancient rigidity of the University had been exposed. The faculty had not yet become dismayed with rebellious students, and the students were full of hope for increased faculty support for their efforts.

It is difficult to prove that such an atmosphere ever existed but several respondents reported it as fact. It is even more difficult to speculate concerning the effects of such a mood on the Senate. It appears, however, that the Senate as a whole was ready to consider some reorganization and educational reform at Berkeley. It is not clear that those involved in the committee work of the Senate were equally willing to change their methods of operation. The Committee on Committees, the Budget Committee, and the Committee on Educational Policy all retained their traditional goals and methods of operation.

Not only did the structures and functions of some Senate committees change after a crisis but so did some of the relationships among the faculty, the administration, and the Board of Regents. In times of crisis the faculty has been moved to attempt to change existing authority relationships. During FSM and after the 1966 strike, the Senate wanted direct contact with the Regents. The

Senate Policy Committee urged more local autonomy for the campus and a sharper separation between Senate and administrative committee structures. After the firing of President Kerr, the Senate instructed the Committee on Welfare to examine the possibility of unionism and collective bargaining in order to change the faculty position from one of petitioners to negotiators, as described in Chapter 2.

Crises also affect persons involved in Senate affairs to some extent but this is a difficult area to measure accurately. One two-time chairman of a major committee told of how the group of people with whom he associated came to power during the time of the oath controversy. It was obvious to this respondent that those in charge of the Senate at that time were out of touch with what the rest of the faculty were thinking. This respondent said it became equally clear to him that his group was out of touch with the majority when FSM occurred. This realization caused him to drop out of active Senate committee work. A young associate professor of philosophy became an active supporter of the student position during FSM and eventually became an assistant to the chancellor. A professor who arrived at Berkeley in the fall of 1964 became a member of the tri-partite committee to negotiate between the president, the students, and the Regents because of his prominence on a nationwide committee of the AAUP. He was subsequently appointed to the Committee on Educational Policy and then to the chairmanship of the Senate Policy Committee. A member of the Emergency Executive Committee became

executive vice chancellor. A professor of engineering described how he came to realize the importance of students as a result of FSM. He immediately volunteered to serve on Senate committees and followed up this commitment with direct phone calls to a member of the Committee on Committees. He was appointed to the Committee on Courses, became the committee's representative on the Graduate Council, and served on both of these committees for three-year terms.

Apparently, crises affect the lives of certain individuals in the governance system, motivating them to participate or to stop participating. Individuals respond to crisis, and this enhances or diminishes their political-administrative visibility. One might argue that occasional crises are organizationally useful in that they stimulate involvement on the part of political spectators.

Some things did not seem to be affected by crisis, however. The interviews uncovered what might be described as increased sensitivity to teaching performance on the part of the Budget Committee but little change in the basic values of the personnel process. As far as could be determined, there was little change in the operation of either the Committee on Committees or the Committee on Educational Policy. The Senate itself has made only minor concessions towards involving students on its committees, and some of this rigidity can be attributed to that group of faculty who tend to control the Senate's machinery.

In summary, during the various crises on the campus,

attendance at Senate meetings increased, the amount of informal politicking within the Senate tended to increase, overt conflict increased and existing tensions heightened, and structures and functions of some committees changed. The FSM also tended to temporarily increase the faculty's receptivity to reform, bring new personalities into governance, and "purge" some older ones. Also, during crises the Senate sought new authority relationships with the administration and the Regents. However, there is little evidence, other than that cited for the Committee on Courses and the Senate Policy Committee, to suggest that the functions, priorities, and methods of operation of the other four committees responded significantly to crisis. A large part of the explanation for this relative unresponsiveness lies in the existence of oligarchic or elite rule of Senate machinery.

OLIGARCHIC BEHAVIOR

One of the major questions for research stated in Chapter 1 is as follows:

> Can an oligarchy or series of oligarchies be identified and defined in an academic setting? If so, what are the factors which tend to sustain oligarchies in academe?

The answer to the first question is a qualified yes. There is a loosely defined group of ruling elite or oligarchy which tends to control Senate affairs at Berkeley in the absence of crisis, but the members of the oligarchy vary from one year to another and from

issue to issue. The data in Chapter 3 revealed a small core of faculty who are extremely active in Senate committees, and almost all the interview respondents reported that an oligarchy exists.

A few respondents argued that it was an "open" oligarchy--anyone could become part of the ruling elite just by making himself aware of the issues and devoting time to Senate activities. This is probably true but, as will be discussed later, the individual apparently also must have an acceptable value structure, possess a minimum degree of academic ability, and have demonstrated his research capability. It would also help if he were from one of the politically astute colleges or departments.

Other qualifications about elite control of the Senate should be mentioned. First, an individual's commitment to Senate activities varies as his own personal interests and professional opportunities vary. Second, the issue or problem which is being considered will have an important bearing on the people who will be involved in the eventual resolution or compromise.

It became apparent in the course of the interviews that some members of the elite of one year had vanished from Senate activities completely and abruptly by the next year. The chairman of the Division ended his two-year term, went on sabbatical, and when he returned it took him another year to catch up on his Senate homework. Leaves and other interruptions, although difficult to assess exactly, are important factors in the changes that take

place in the Senate's decision-making structure.

On the other hand, the analysis of the Senate committee service of the thirty-eight individuals who were on four or more committees showed that some faculty have had a sustained commitment to Senate committee activity. The interviews also revealed that some persons avoid Senate committee service but remain very much a part of the informal decision-making structure by remaining informed about Senate affairs.

Close observation of the Senate over a period of six to eight months and interviews and other data suggest that the issue under consideration is a factor in determining who will be a part of the oligarchy. One respondent reported that he has considered himself a watchdog for academic freedom in the Senate for the last twenty years. Other respondents said that there is a certain loosely defined group of people who are sure to take an active interest in any issue which they feel involves questions of academic freedom. In addition to current and past members of the Committee on Academic Freedom, this group would also include some members of the Senate Policy Committee, the Executive Committee of the Berkeley AAUP chapter, and members of what some call the radical or ultra-liberal group. In the absence of crisis, their involvement may be limited to informal conversations among a few people; the controversy would have to expand considerably before engaging the attention of the Senate.

The characteristics of the ruling elite and some of the factors which sustain this loosely defined oligarchy are discussed

in the following paragraphs. It would be unwise to interpret the discussion too rigidly however, assuming that the factors or characteristics discussed are possessed by all members of any one group. For the most part these are group data and often do not describe individual characteristics.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RULING ELITE

Chapter 3 pointed out that certain Senate committees are largely reserved for full professors and that certain other committees were staffed largely by the two lower academic ranks. Other data discussed in that chapter revealed that those who served on Senate committees tended to have been at Berkeley significantly longer than a sample of those who had not served on any Senate committee. Those who served on Senate committees also tended to have published more. These three factors, senior rank, length of time at Berkeley, and publication productivity tended to be characteristics of those who served on the more important Senate committees.

Certain departments and professional schools were underrepresented on Senate committees and in one case excluded from Senate committee service. Other departments were significantly overrepresented on Senate committees when compared to a representative sample. The excessive reliance in the Committee on Committees on personal acquaintance with appointees to important Senate committees probably is reflected in this imbalance. In a campus of 1700 faculty it is likely that faculty from traditional academic disciplines, such as

English, chemistry, and physics will not be well acquainted with many faculty from the professional schools.

Emphasis on research productivity and other research-oriented standards is another important factor in elite control of the Senate. One member of the Committee on Committees explained the practice of excluding the faculty members of a particular school from Senate Committee service with the simple statement, "They do not do any research over there.' Other respondents, especially from the Budget Committee, identified certain schools or departments as "soft" on research quality. Subsequent analysis showed that these schools were almost invariably underrepresented on committees. A typical statement was, "The best scholars in French and German are in Europe and not available to this campus, hence these departments are weak." Foreign languages are significantly underrepresented on Senate committees and as chairmen.

Secrecy of operation is an important factor which sustains the rule of the Senate elite. No faculty member can publicly challenge reports of the Academic Planning, Budget Committee, or Educational Policy Committees which are made to the administration. Chapter I noted that control over information, which such secrecy assures, is an important adjunct to control of the administrative machinery of most political systems. When opposition to existing Senate practices is expressed, it is usually based on hearsay evidence and can be countered by a superior "grasp of the facts." Because of secrecy,

the facts are not equally available to all parties. For example, the Committee on Educational Policy can claim, without fear of serious challenge, that the Governance Commi sion Report misunderstands the committee's function because few people actually do know what the committee does (University of California, May 14, 1968). The committee has no public statement of policies, and its annual reports stress the number of times the committee met and what issues it considered rather than an evaluation of its activities.

An important characteristic of the ruling group in the Berkeley Academic Senate is the almost unanimous commitment to the maintenance of ill-defined quality standards. It is perhaps correct to characterize the oligarchy as one composed of those with similar academic value priorities. Chapter V argues that the traditional standards of quality reflected in the Budget Committee and the Committee on Educational Policy are inflexible. These committees do not reflect the diversity of values one expects to find on a campus of 1700 faculty.

Of course, this conclusion needs more data to be judged as empirically sound. Nevertheless, in the course of the eighty-four interviews conducted for this study it became apparent that the diversity of opinions reflected in such agencies as the Muscatine Committee, the Governance Commission, and the Board of Educational Development was not, with one or two exceptions, represented on the major committees analyzed in this report.

An important factor which ensures the application of these traditional quality considerations is centralized control of the faculty decision-making structure. The Budget Committee, the Committee on Educational Policy, and the Courses Committee all perform the function of central faculty review over matters previously substantively reviewed at the departmental and school or college levels and which, except for curricular matters, will be substantively reviewed by the administration. Central faculty review provides an important monitoring device over deviations from the traditional standards espoused by the elite. Committee reports provide little data on the extent to which these committees reverse recommendations by lower faculty bodies.

This is not to imply that central faculty review has no proper function, however. The strength of the central faculty review described in this research tends to lie in evaluating the research aspects of the case and its weaknesses are failure to give adequate consideration to other factors such as community need, educational relevance, or public relations. The failure of the faculty at the central level to adequately weight the "other" consequences of educational decisions makes conflict with the administration almost inevitable. The administration is forced into the position of bringing these factors into the final decision. For example, a Senate committee was asked to advise the administration on the feasibility of hiring more black faculty members at Berkeley. The committee recommended

that the quality standards of the University not be compromised on this point. Such a decision, regardless of its merit, will be very difficult for the administration to accept in an atmosphere of crisis over a third world college.

In the last two academic years, 1967-68 and 1968-69, the campus has had four or five crises of major proportion. One involved Dow Chemical recruiters on campus and another was over a Vietnam Day ceremony. In 1968-69 the Cleaver crisis, the third world college strike, and the People's Park issue have all disrupted the campus.

The perfunctory nature of committee reports to the Senate and the lack of an adequate Senate coordinating mechanism are factors which also sustain the rule of the elite. The Senate does have more than thirty standing and six to ten special committees in operation at any given time. Few people are aware of what each Senate committee actually does, and no central coordinating device exists where this information is available. There is little evidence, however, to support a charge of Machiavellianism in the lack of a coordinating device.

The perfunctory committee reports and the lack of committee coordination suggest that Senate committees and faculty government at Berkeley lack adequate standards of accountability to their constituents, the faculty. The town meeting structure of the Senate diffuses responsibility for actions and makes it almost impossible to hold the Senate accountable for its actions. Important Senate committees issue infrequent and usually perfunctory reports

to the faculty but make detailed, specific, and confidential recommendations to the administration. There is no faculty body which can hold individual committees responsible for its recommendations. A Senate committee can issue negative recommendations on a black studies program, the retention of a popular student-oriented faculty member, or the compensatory hiring of black faculty without being held accountable for the substance of these recommendations. In short, few recognized standards of accountability exist for Senate committees vis-à-vis their constituent body, the Senate.

The review of the literature in Chapter I summarized factors which result in oligarchic or minority control of organizations: large size, monopoly over political skills, control over sources of revenue, and time spent on political-administrative activity. These factors are also present in the Academic Senate at Berkeley.

First, both the size of the Senate membership, currently over 1700 faculty, and the number of standing and special committees make it virtually impossible for truly "popular" democracy to prevail. To elect all thirty committees, for example, would result in an excessive number of elections and place an extra burden on each faculty member.

Second, the "over-participation" of some faculty in Senate affairs perfects their political-managerial skills relative to the nonparticipants. Skill and experience in [illegible] Senate apparatus is an important factor in sustai[illegible] the elite

at Berkeley. The third factor, control over sources of revenue, might be modified to fit Berkeley by substituting the word information for revenue. Those in positions of Senate responsibility have almost a monopoly over the detailed information generated by Senate committees. Such information is seldom, if ever, reported to the Senate.

Finally, time spent on Senate activities is also an important feature. Based on the different orientations to academic life stated in Chapter 1, it was expected that certain professional-amateur administrators would be uncovered. The data confirm that certain faculty did indeed spend a good deal more time on Senate affairs than others but as a group the data did not confirm that their research productivity was sacrificed, as hypothesized by McConnell. (See Appendix for the necessary qualifications of the productivity data.) There was, however, evidence to suggest a linkage between committee and administrative activity, as suggested by Presthus in Chapter 1. Those who served on Senate committees were significantly more likely to also accept administrative positions. Whether or not the values of these faculty differed from those of other faculty is a pertinent question for further research. Presthus, of course, believed that faculty who are heavily involved in administrative activity are not representative of faculty values. The findings of this study of faculty government at Berkeley also suggest that the committee structure of the Senate is not representative of the

diverse values, goals, and faculty orientations which the discussion in Chapter 1 suggests. The lack of value diversity in Senate committees was suggested by the analysis of authority and power in Senate committees.

AUTHORITY AND POWER WITHIN COMMITTEES

A search for consensus is the basic characteristic of decision making within the six Senate committees analyzed in this report. Few minority reports were issued by these committees and in most instances, votes were not recorded. The limited number of committees may not have been representative of the broad range of committees in operation at Berkeley, but if so this was not apparent from the systematic analysis of committee reports. Public minority reports of Senate committees were rare and the conflict which was apparent in Senate meetings was not reflected in its committees.

The role of the chairmen of the committees tended to be very important in the committees studied. The chairman was usually the only committee member with a view of the entire range of the committee's activities. The chairmen of some Senate committees are quasi-administrators and perform an important liaison function with the administration.

FACULTY-ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY RELATIONS

Chapter I briefly discussed models of governance. Reference was made to Millett's concept of consensus in academic governance as

opposed to the traditional bureaucratic or formal types of organization. The central question in such debates tends to be how authority is shared in academic governance.

First, it seems clear that the faculty have almost absolute control over the operation of the Academic Senate. Although some administrators are members of the Senate, as provided in the Bylaws, few central administrators are members of Senate committees. The Committee on Committees tries not to appoint even department chairmen to Senate committees. The Senate Policy Committee has also taken great care to maintain its status as a distinctly separate faculty committee so that there is little or no formal administrative involvement here either.

The issue of curriculum, as reflected in the discussion of the Courses Committee, is also one in which the faculty retains almost absolute control. Curricular matters also are dealt with by the Board of Educational Development and the Graduate Council, both of which have administrative members and which do not exercise absolute control therefore. The Courses Committee functions as a mediator of competing departmental curricular interests, also separate from central administrative involvement. The committee makes final decisions and seldom consults with the central administration.

Shared authority on the issue of personnel is more complicated. The recommendations of the Budget Committee were sustained by the administration approximately 95 percent of the time, and extensive

consultation took place in cases of administrative reversal. The first substantive central administrative involvement in individual personnel cases came with the selection of ad hoc review committees nominated by the committee and chosen by the administration. Where review committees are not appointed, the administration is not involved until it receives the Budget Committee's final report. With the major exception of the dean of letters and science, the committee issues confidential reports directly to the administration.

The administration's role in appointing review committees can be an important one and often is. But the important point to note is that with this exception, the faculty recommendation is issued without prior central administrative involvement, and the administration is forced to react. On personnel cases there is little prior discussion between faculty and central administrators.

When educational policy issues are involved, such as evaluation of academic units or proposals for new ones, a faculty concern for a clearly separate point of view appears to prevail. The Committee on Educational Policy consults with the central administration on policy matters but is careful to protect the integrity of its own views when advising the administration on specific problems. Contrary to the practice in personnel cases, the administration and the Committee on Educational Policy have no regularized system of consultation when the administration doesn't accept the Committee's advice.

Faculty involvement in decisions affecting the budget is circumscribed by a wide range of problems and practices at the Universitywide level. Faculty members now review only the broad policy aspects of the budget and leave the details to the administration. Basic formulas for allocations are made in the chancellor's office or at the state level without extensive involvement of the faculty from the individual campuses. On each of the preceding issues faculty committees are appointed solely by other faculty members and there is little prior consultation between the faculty and the central administration. When floor space is allocated, however, administrative committees make recommendations for action. The committees are composed of both administrators and faculty, and joint discussion appears to be the norm before final committee decisions are reached and passed to the chancellor for action.

In summary, the governance system as it operates in personnel, educational policy, curriculum, and Senate affairs is largely one of separate faculty jurisdictions. When the administration of the Academic Senate or curricular affairs are involved, the Senate clearly operates separately from administrative involvement. The Budget Committee and the Committee on Educational Policy issue reports to the administration which do not normally involve <u>prior</u> consultation. In personnel cases the administration consults with the Budget Committee before changing a recommendation but no such arrangement was uncovered on educational policy matters.

When the budget or the allocation of floor space is involved, the role of the administration is larger. It seems that there is joint participation in the early stages of decision making on floor space. On the other hand, there is little evidence that faculty advice on budgets is crucial in decisions which result in resource allocations.

HOW AUTHORITY OUGHT TO BE SHARED

Chapter I discussed a model of democratic government. In the absence of crisis, a democracy is administered by a ruling oligarchy or political elite, but in times of crisis larger numbers of people become involved in government. Greater popular awareness of and involvement in governmental affairs theoretically causes the elite to make policy adjustments. These accommodations allow people to return to their roles of informed but uninvolved citizens. A key requirement of a democratic governance system is that the elite be responsive to popular will when crises occur.

Senate meetings were the principal arena of conflict, and Senate committees, with the exception of the Senate Policy Committee, remained relatively detached from this conflict. This raises a serious question as to the continued viability of a committee governance system which appears to be only marginally responsive to crises. An important question is what happens when that group of people who do become involved in an issue realize that little or no change in that policy has occurred? What concessions should or must a ruling

elite or the majority make in a majoritarian democracy in order to keep the minority working within the system instead of trying to subvert it?

The Study Commission on University Governance issued a proposal to drastically decentralize the campus into communities of more manageable size in order to promote a more lively sense of membership and to make it easier to initiate changes (University of California, January 16, 1968). The report urged that a first minimal step should be to eliminate many of the present levels of review. The commission recommended strengthening the existing Senate structure in order to defend the campus against the immediate danger of regental encroachments. The commission also recommended the simultaneous pursuit of methods to strengthen the faculty role in departments, schools, and colleges (University of California, January 15, 1968). This research has not dealt with faculty governance in departments and schools within the University, but the need for strengthening the Senate is apparent.

The Berkeley Academic Senate should find ways to broaden the participation patterns of those faculty who hold non-traditional views. More specifically, the Committee on Committees should be less concerned about appointing committees that will produce unanimous reports in favor of committees that would be more representative of the diversity of values and viewpoints on the campus. Some of these differing views may be irreconcilable, and, in such cases,

minority views ought to be clearly stated in committee reports. In some cases, extensive minority reports have been issued, but they usually involve special not standing committees. The Muscatine Committee and the Study Commission on University Governance issued lengthy minority reports that differed basically with the majority reports (University of California, 1966, April 4, 1968). The conflict revealed in open Senate meetings and permeating the atmosphere of the campus should also be included in the committee structure. Increased overt conflict within faculty committees is an important accommodation that should be made by the majority.

To work with increased internal conflict, Senate committees will have to gain the extra time necessary to allow for the expression of different views. This probably could be done by adding staff to handle clerical functions. Faculty suspicion of administrative-clerical personnel has led to the argument that the faculty must handle the details of its involvement in governance, and this is a difficult objection to counter. If faculty cannot trust administrative followup to clerical and administrative personnel, then a great deal of faculty effort will be wasted on clerical duties.

The Governance Commission's statement that the faculty must organize itself to achieve more informed deliberation and integration with other elements of the campus underscores the preceding recommendations. The extent to which faculty inform themselves about an issue will probably still be functions of orientations to academic

life as described in Chapter 1 and of the various crises which confront the campus.

The institutionalization of conflict in committees would channel the organization's conflict into educationally relevant output. Those who favor compensatory hiring of black faculty members, for example, should be involved in committees which make recommendations on that issue. Those who are "sympathetic" to the needs of undergraduate teaching as opposed to the needs of graduate research training should be included in the membership of the Budget Committee.

In lieu of formal committee membership and to provide more diverse inputs into the committee decision-making process, the Berkeley Academic Senate should experiment with open committee meetings when basic policy matters are being discussed. These open meetings should be announced far enough in advance so that adequate time for discussion is available. The purpose of open meetings would be to encourage the public expression of the various alternatives to a given policy matter.

In sum, conflict should be functional and could enhance the viability of the Berkeley Senate committee structure. An overt recognition of conflicting views among the faculty and an attempt to incorporate them into both the Senate <u>per se</u> and its educational decision-making structures seems a better way of handling the situation than covert attempts to produce Senate committee consensus on issues where consensus does not exist.

John Gustad (1966) summarized this same point as follows:

> What is required is the frank and detailed identification and description of the relevant reference groups and the demands they make on the members of the several communities [faculty, administrators, trustees, and students] so that the conflicts can be dealt with openly [p. 450].

The faculty at Berkeley should also begin a thorough and intensive discussion directed at establishing general standards of accountability for the Senate and its committees. As it stands, Senate committees can report or not report, as they please. Reports, when issued, are often perfunctory and do not adequately describe the policies on which decisions are based. The proposed change to a representative body would probably help fix responsibility for attendance and for actions taken by the Senate but committee accountability would still not necessarily be improved.

As discussed in Chapter 1, competing needs in a multiversity require a governance structure that provides for an acceptable degree of administrative efficiency concurrent with a degree of responsiveness to constituent groupings, whether in the majority or the minority. The advantage of oligarchic control of faculty governance structures tends to be administrative efficiency. Its disadvantages are likely to be unresponsiveness to the wide range of faculty interests and values which permeate the University.

Given these "realities," it is difficult to see how the maintenance of strictly separate faculty and administrative areas of jurisdiction will do anything but perpetuate control of faculty

governance by the ruling elite. Furthermore, exclusion or mere "token" inclusion of minority viewpoints in faculty decision-making structures sets the stage for faculty-administrative relationships based on an adversary principle. A system of separate jurisdictions also does not appear to take into consideration the need for the administrative efficiency necessary to the management of a large bureaucracy.

Attempts to create consensus and communal feelings based on majoritarian values which do not reflect the basically different values of the articulate and well-informed minority encourage that minority to precipitate confrontations to be sure their views receive adequate consideration. In short, communal or consensual organization is no longer, if it ever was, an adequate response to the conditions of size, scale, and value diversity which confront contemporary universities.

A more promising model of university governance is the one embodied in the principle of shared authority between the faculty, administrative officers, and, where appropriate, students. The concept of shared authority provides for participation in policy matters by <u>all</u> parties affected by policy decisions. The requisites of shared authority are not satisfied by mere discussion between the administration and a faculty oligarchy. Whatever accommodations are to be made in a given situation must be made through formal or informal processes which are representative of as many constituent groupings

as possible. The opposition to the faculty majority muct be involved in the resolution of a problem, and this problem must be considered on its educational merits as well as on its administrative, budgetary, and political feasibility.

There are also some structural mechanisms which should be a part of the system of shared authority. First, decision-making structures in both the faculty and administrative bureaucracies should be as open as possible. When committees are appointed, care should be taken to ensure that they reflect a wide range of viewpoints. In personnel cases, the individual should always be told why he is not being retained or promoted. There should be periodic, open, and substantive discussions of the criteria on which personnel and educational policy decisions are based.

Second, conflict within the faculty and between the faculty and the administration on any issue should be acknowledged, and the educational relevance of these differences should be the basis of broad substantive discussions. This model of democratic governance assumes that there will be conflict within the faculty. Some of this conflict will be over consistently differing views of what a university ought to be doing, over conflicting academic roles, or different orientations to academic life. These conflicts should be overt ones directed towards the substance of the educational issue involved, not covert discussions among a small cadre of ruling faculty elders, or voluntary pressure groups.

Third, wherever possible, alternative solutions to a problem should be discussed jointly between faculty and administrative agencies. Situations in which a committee confronts the administration with one answer to a problem encourage confrontations. It may well be that value diversity, differences of opinion, or different academic interests will sometimes result in occasional confrontations but at the least they should be informed confrontations based on prior discussions.

Finally, it is difficult to overstate the need for increased sensitivity on the part of the ruling faculty elders and the administration toward the views and the divergent values which exist in a multiversity. Those in positions of power must respond visibly to the internal pressures of various groupings if the legitimacy and viability of existing governance structures are to be sustained and if change is to be orderly rather than precipitous.

APPENDIX

PUBLICATION SCORES

The publication scores reported in Chapter 3 represent an attempt to compare various faculty members' average yearly publication output in some standard unit of measure.

A review of the literature revealed that other scholars had also attempted to measure publication performance. Berelson (1960), in his book Graduate Education in the United States, compiled a list of the top journals in five discipline areas. He then cataloged the authors of major articles which appeared in these journals and identified the institution from which each author had graduated. He compared the publication output of the graduates of these institutions, based on a figure he labeled average number of publications per degree recipient.

When measuring publication productivity in Academic Women, Jessie Bernard (1964) simply counted the entire output of scientists, including books, articles, abstracts, teaching aids, etc. and computed the average. Lazarsfeld and Thielens (1958) used a productivity index which awarded one point for each of the following activities: 1) writing a dissertation, 2) publishing one or more papers, 3) publishing one or more books, and 4) delivering three or more papers at professional meetings.

Cartter's (1966) concept of article equivalents was the

one finally adopted for use in this study. He sought to create productivity indices in economics, English, and political science. In economics, for example, he cataloged all articles, shorter communications, book reviews, and books reviewed in six major journals. He weighted these by equating them with substantive articles as follows (Cartter, 1966; Lazersfeld & Thielens, 1958):

four short communications	= one article
eight book reviews	= one article
a theoretical research book	= six articles
a text book	= three articles
an edited collection	= two articles

The weighting of these categories varied slightly for English and political science. Cartter used these data to compute his productivity index.

The publications score used in Chapter 3 was compiled from a systematic recording of publications reported on each individual's bio-bib supplements for the nine-year period from 1957-58 to 1965-66. The scores were kept and weighted as follows:

Book	= eight articles
Textbooks and edited collections	= four articles
Major articles	= two articles
Minor articles and book reviews	= one article

Because the number of annual supplements filed by each individual varied, the total score computed from the above data was divided by the number of supplements filed. The result is equal to the publication scores reported in Chapter 3. The score is the average annual publication in terms of minor articles or book reviews. A score of 1.0 means that the individual has averaged one minor article

or review per year. A score of 8 could mean an average of one book, two textbooks, four articles, or eight book reviews in a given year.

The research conducted in this project did not attempt to relate the publication score to quality of publication or use it as a measure of creativity or inventive genius. Both Cartter and Lazarsfeld did relate departmental productivity to quality ratings, but not individual productivity. The current research used productivity as a measure of activity and contrasts it with another measure of activity, namely Senate committee service. The text of the report also implied that publication or lack of it can affect professional mobility.

These data are used to analyze group, not individual, relationships. This writer fully realizes that the publication output of an individual may not reveal his creative abilities or the quality of his thought.

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